



If you have discovered material in AURA which is unlawful e.g. breaches copyright, (either yours or that of a third party) or any other law, including but not limited to those relating to patent, trademark, confidentiality, data protection, obscenity, defamation, libel, then please read our [Takedown Policy](#) and [contact the service](#) immediately

**Third Sector Organisations and Social Welfare:
A Study of the Role of Social Service and Charitable Organisations in
Taiwan**

Chung-Dao Pan

Doctor of Philosophy

Aston University

July 2007

This copy of the thesis has been supplied on condition that anyone who consults it is understood to recognise that its copyright rests with its author and that no quotation from the thesis and no information derived it may be published without proper acknowledgement.

Third Sector Organisations and Social Welfare: A Study of the Role of Social Service and Charitable Organisations in Taiwan

Chung-Dao Pan

Doctor of Philosophy Aston University

July 2007

Thesis Summary

This study is about the role and operation of 'third sector' organisations (TSOs) within the Taiwanese social welfare context. In the past five decades, alongside economic and political development, a social welfare 'regime' has also developed in Taiwan. TSOs have increased dramatically and become actively involved in social service provision. This phenomenon has not only had significant impact on the development and operation of TSOs in Taiwan but it is also of increasing interest to public policy academics. The latter are especially interested in the implications for the government-third sector relationship. This research examines the reasons why TSOs have been established, why they actively participate in social service provision, and their role and operation within the social welfare context of Taiwan.

The study has both quantitative and qualitative data. It sampled 'social service' and 'charitable' organisations (SSCOs), which are the main type of TSOs in Taiwan, to examine their role, operation and interaction with government. Questionnaires were mailed to collect quantitative data first. After the quantitative data were collected and analysed, semi-structured interviewees were undertaken to collect qualitative data and collect further information to build on the preliminary quantitative findings.

The study found that TSOs in Taiwan exist in a highly institutionalised environment, which is affected by traditional Confucian ideas and contemporary Western ideas such as social justice and civil rights. The rapid growth of TSOs has a strong connection with the desire to fill social service gaps left by government and family. TSOs mainly play the role of service provider rather than that of advocate. They cooperate with government in social service provision and have developed different types of symbiotic relationships with government. A 'resonance effect' between government and TSOs was also found as they implement social policy. The study of TSOs in Taiwan suggests that the role and operation of TSOs in a country is strongly rooted in the historical, cultural and social context of that country.

Key words: Taiwan, social welfare, third sector organisations, role of third sector organisations, relationship between government and third sector organisations

Dedication

In memory of my father

潘長和 先生

Acknowledgements

Seven years is not a short time for studying abroad. It is a very special life experience for me. During this period of time, I have learned so much from different cultures and people from different countries. However, the most important thing is that many good friends helped me and accompanied me for this period of my life. I would like to particularly thank Vladimir, Daniel, Arne, Tricia and Hans for their generous support and encouragement. I would keep the friendship forever.

For my research, the accomplishment of this thesis was firstly based on the research participants, including the 103 questionnaire respondents and 25 interviewees, from different organisations. I have to give them my grateful thanks for providing me the information-rich data and giving me so many insights. During the period of data collection in Taiwan, my good friends, Li-Cheng (麗珍) and Shan-Ru (善如), who are teaching in the Universities, helped me to access the respondent organisations. Chun-Hsien (俊賢) and Tien-Fu (田復) helped me to find the informants and Pei-Jie (培潔) assisted me with sorting the data. They all gave me a lot of help. I thank all of them. This research could not have been completed without their help.

In my viva, external examiner, Professor Jenny Harrow and internal examiner, Mr. Mike Tricker gave me a lot of insightful suggestions and I learned a lot from both of them. I also like to say thank you to them.

Especially, I have to give my warmest thank you to my supervisor, Professor Margaret Harris. Without her supportive supervision, I do not think I could finish my study. She has provided me with the best academic training and led me to true scholarship.

Thank you very much Margaret.

Finally, I want to give my greatest thank you to my parents. In order to support me to complete my study without worrying about financial problems, they spent their savings and gave me endless support. Sadly, my father died when I was doing my empirical study in Taiwan. To get a PhD degree had always been my father's expectation of me. Now I have got the degree but I can only share my honour with my father in front of his tomb. This is the saddest thing in my life. Now I would really like to share my achievement and honour with my mother.

List of Contents

	Page
Title Page	1
Thesis Summary	2
Dedication	3
Acknowledgements	4
List of Contents	6
List of Tables	20
List of Figures	23
Abbreviations	24
Forward	25
Chapter One	Introduction: Third Sector Organisations in Taiwan and the Need for a Study 27
	1.1 Introduction 27
	1.2 The terminology employed to represent organisations between government and market in Taiwan 31

	1.3 The historical and ideological roots of third sector organisations in Taiwan	33
	1.4 The types of third sector organisations in Taiwan	37
	1.4.1 Membership associations	38
	1.4.2 Endowment foundations	40
	1.5 The growth of third sector organisations in Taiwan in the past three decades	42
	1.5.1 The growth of membership associations	42
	1.5.2 The growth of endowment foundations	44
	1.6 Third sector organisations in a changing environment in Taiwan	46
	1.7 Increasingly closer interaction between government and TSOs in Taiwan	49
	1.8 The focus of this research	51
	1.9 Thesis outline	52
Chapter Two	Study Focus: Third Sector Organisations in the Changing Environment in Taiwan	55
	2.1 Introduction	55
	2.2 The features of the Taiwanese social	56

welfare regime and its ideological foundation	
2.2.1 Salient characteristics of the Taiwanese welfare regime	57
2.2.2 Confucian social welfare ideas and their connection to Taiwanese social welfare development	60
2.3 The development of the Taiwanese social welfare and TSOs after 1949	64
2.3.1 1949-1979: Social insurances centred welfare regime	66
2.3.1.1 Political, economic and social environment 1949-1979	67
2.3.1.2 Main social policy and social welfare ideology 1949-1979	69
2.3.1.3 Important social welfare legislations and measures 1949-1979	70
2.3.1.4 Third sector organisations 1949-1979	71
2.3.2 1980-1990: Welfare regime of expanding social insurances, improved social assistance and immature social services	72
2.3.2.1 Political, economic and social environment 1980-1990	73
2.3.2.2 Main social policy and social welfare ideology 1980-1990	77
2. 3.2.3 Important social welfare legislations and measures 1980-1990	78
2.3.2.4 Third sector organisations 1980-1990	79

	2.3.3 1991-present: Welfare regime of extensive social insurances, extensive social services and expansion of social assistance	81
	2.3.3.1 Political, economic and social environment 1991 onwards	81
	2.3.3.2 Main social policy and social welfare ideology 1991 onwards	85
	2.3.3.3 Important social welfare legislations and measures 1991 onwards	87
	2.3.3.4 Third sector organisations 1991 onwards	88
	2.4 Emerging topics for further study	89
Chapter Three	Theoretical Discussion on Studies of Third Sector Organisations and the Conceptual Approach to this Study	91
	3.1 Introduction	91
	3.2 Theories and studies of TSOs	93
	3.2.1 Approaches to understanding the growth of Third Sector organisations	93
	3.2.1.1 The social service provision approach	93
	3.2.1.2 The civil society revival approach	99
	3.2.1.3 Comments on the social service provision and civil society revival theoretical approaches	101
	3.2.2 The role of TSOs and their	103

	interaction with government	
	3.2.2.1 The social service provision perspective	103
	3.2.2.2 The civil society perspective	105
	3.2.3 The relationship between government and TSOs	106
	3.3 Studies of TSOs in Taiwan	109
	3.3.1 Explanations of the growth of TSOs in Taiwan	109
	3.3.2 The roles of TSOs and their interaction with government in Taiwan	111
	3.4 Research argument, questions and conceptual approach	113
	3.4.1 The research argument and research questions	113
	3.4.2 The conceptual approach to this study	116
	3.5 Chapter summary	120
Chapter Four	Research Approach and Methodology	122
	4.1 Introduction	122
	4.2 Philosophical considerations of social science research	123
	4.3 Traditional dichotomy of research	125

methodologies	
4.4 Mixed methods approach for this study	128
4.4.1 Mixed methods research	128
4.4.2 Justification of using mixed methods research in this research	131
4.5 Triangulation as a research strategy to enhance reliability	132
4.6 The empirical study	134
4.6.1 Quantitative data collection	134
4.6.1.1 Quantitative data collection process	134
4.6.1.2 Quantitative data collection tool and data analysis	137
4.6.2 Qualitative data collection	139
4.6.2.1 Qualitative data collection process	139
4.6.2.2 Qualitative data collection tool and data analysis	140
4.7 Reflexivity in the qualitative part of this research	143
4.8 Research contributions and the limitations of this research	147
4.8.1 Research contributions	147
4.8.2 Research limitations	148
4.9 Chapter summary	149

Chapter Five	‘Social Service’ and ‘Charitable’ Organisations in Taiwan: Their Characteristics	150
5.1	Introduction	150
5.2	The distinction between ‘social service’ and ‘charitable’ organisations	152
5.2.1	Charitable organisations	153
5.2.1.1	The ideology of COs	153
5.2.1.2	Poverty and emergency relief by COs	154
5.2.1.3	Membership as important resource for COs	156
5.2.2	Social service organisations	157
5.2.2.1	Contemporary social problem as the organisational focus	158
5.2.2.2	Governmental funding as an important income resource for SSOs	158
5.2.2.3	Membership meets legal requirements for establishment of a SSO	159
5.3	Mapping ‘social service’ and ‘charitable’ organisations—quantitative data	161
5.3.1	Organisational types	161
5.3.2	Governments which SSCOs register with	162

	5.3.3 Membership	164
	5.3.4 The administrative board and supervision board	165
	5.3.5 Human resources of SSCOs	166
	5.3.6 Sources of revenue	168
	5.3.7 The expenditure of SSCOs	170
	5.4 Mapping 'social service' and 'charitable' organisations—qualitative data	171
	5.4.1 The backgrounds of SSCOs	171
	5.4.2 Membership	173
	5.4.3 Members' participation and contributions	175
	5.4.4 Organisational leadership	177
	5.4.5 Financial resources	179
	5.5 Chapter summary	180
Chapter Six	Filling the Services Gap: Growth, Role and Contributions of 'Social Service' and 'Charitable' Organisations	183
	6.1 Introduction	183
	6.2 The rapid growth of SSCOs since the late 1980s	184

6.2.1 Accounting for the establishment of SSCOs in Taiwan—quantitative and qualitative data	185
6.2.1.1 The quantitative findings	185
6.2.1.2 The qualitative findings	186
6.2.2 The impact of Martial Law on the establishment of SSCOs—quantitative findings	187
6.2.3 The impact of the abolition of Martial Law on SSCO—qualitative findings	189
6.2.3.1 Findings from interviewees of organisations established before the abolition of Martial Law	189
6.2.3.2 Findings from interviewees of organisations established after the abolition of Martial Law	192
6.3 The roles of SSCO within the social welfare context in Taiwan	194
6.3.1 Quantitative data on the role of SSCOs in Taiwan	195
6.3.2 Qualitative data on the role of SSCOs in Taiwan	196
6.4 Factors influencing the role of SSCO in Taiwan and their operational principles	199
6.4.1 Factors influencing the role of SSCOs in Taiwan—quantitative and qualitative findings	199

	6.4.1.1 Quantitative findings	200
	6.4.1.2 Qualitative findings	201
	6.4.2 The operational principles of SSCOs in Taiwan	202
	6.5 Contributions of SSCOs to Taiwanese society—quantitative and qualitative findings	206
	6.5.1 Quantitative findings	207
	6.5.2 Qualitative findings	208
	6.6 Future development of SSCOs in Taiwan	210
	6.6.1 Receiving more public support	210
	6.6.2 Future development of SSCOs in Taiwan	211
	6.7 Chapter summary	212
Chapter Seven	Interaction between Government and ‘Social Service’ and ‘Charitable’ Organisations	214
	7.1 Introduction	214
	7.2 The relationship between government and SSCOs	216
	7.2.1 The expected role of government in interaction with SSCOs	216

7.2.2 The types of relationship between government and SSCOs—quantitative and qualitative accounts	218
7.2.2.1 Quantitative findings	218
7.2.2.2 Qualitative findings	219
7.2.3 Influential factors in building relationships with government	224
7.2.4 The impact of the quality of relationship with government on SSCOs	225
7.3 The impacts of government financial support on SSCOs	227
7.3.1 Obtaining grants or contracts from government to provide social services	227
7.3.1.1 Those organisations which have received a grant or contract from government	228
7.3.1.2 Those organisations which never received a grant or contract from government	230
7.3.2 Impacts of governmental funding on SSCOs	232
7.3.2.1 Quantitative findings	232
7.3.2.2 Qualitative findings	233
7.4 The impacts of the interaction with SSCOs on government—from the view points of SSCOs	235

	7.5 Government and SSCOs' cooperation for social policy and social services implementation	238
	7.5.1 SSCOs' interests in service proposals by government	238
	7.5.2 Governments' interests in service provision by SSCOs	239
	7.6 Chapter summary	241
Chapter Eight	Discussion and Conclusions	243
	8.1 Introduction	243
	8.2 Features of SSCOs	245
	8.2.1 Common features of SSOs and COs	245
	8.2.2 Differences between SSOs and COs	247
	8.2.3 Different conceptualisations of how people can associate to meet social need	248
	8.2.4 Organisational governance—a spectrum from familism to professionalism	252
	8.3 SSCOs in the Taiwanese social welfare context	254
	8.3.1 Rapid growth of SSCOs—filling social service gaps	254

8.3.2 The role of SSCOs in the social welfare context in Taiwan—SSCOs for 'hire' not for advocacy	258
8.3.3 Symbiotic relationships—a new theory from the view point of SSCOs	260
8.3.4 The resonance effect—cooperation between government and SSCOs to implement social policy and social services	265
8.4 SSCOs in a highly institutionalised environment in Taiwan	268
8.4.1 The impact of institutional factors on the SSCOs	269
8.4.2 The influence of SSCOs on their institutional environment	272
8.5 Conclusions, suggestions for further research and possible developments in the future	274
8.5.1 Conclusions	274
8.5.2 Further research	276
8.5.3 Possible developments in the near future in social policy and the role of TSOs	278
References	280

Glossary	298
Appendices	299

List of Tables

		Page
Table 1.1	Types of Foundations in Taiwan	44
Table 4.1	Philosophical Differences between Quantitative and Qualitative Research	126
Table 4.2	Practical Differences between Quantitative and Qualitative Methods	127
Table 5.1	Comparison between COs and SSOs	161
Table 5.2	Organisational Types	162
Table 5.3	The Level of Government which SSCOs Registered with	163
Table 5.4	Mean of the Individual Membership	164
Table 5.5	Number of Members of Administrative Board and Supervision Board	166
Table 5.6	Mean of Full-Time Employees in SSCOs	166
Table 5.7	Full-Time Administrative Staff and Professional Social Workers	167
Table 5.8	Mean of Part-Time Employee in SSCOs	167
Table 5.9	Mean of Volunteers in SSCOs	168
Table 5.10	Annual Revenue	168
Table 5.11	Mean of Revenue by source for All SSCOs	169

Table 5.12	Sources of Revenue for SSCOs	170
Table 5.13	Expenditures of SSCOs	170
Table 6.1	Goals of SSCOs' Establishment (Multiple Choice Question)	185
Table 6.2	Views about Whether Martial Law Restricted the Establishment of SSCOs Which Were Established in 1987 or before	188
Table 6.3	Views about Whether the Abolition of Martial Law Encouraged the Establishment of SSCOs which Were Established after 1987	189
Table 6.4	The Roles of SSCOs in Taiwan (Multiple Choice Question)	195
Table 6.5	Factors Perceived to Affect the Role of SSCOs in Taiwan (Multiple Choice Question)	200
Table 6.6	Respondents' View about Whether the Establishment of Their Organisations Reflected Democratisation Trends (Organisations Established after 1987)	207
Table 6.7	Respondents' View about whether TSOs Contribute to Promoting Democracy	208
Table 7.1	SSCOs' Expectation of the Role of Government (Multiple Choice Question)	217
Table 7.2	SSCOs' Perceived Relationships with Government	219

Table 7.3	SSCOs which Received Grant or Contract from Government	228
Table 7.4	The Perceived Reason Why SSCOs did not Receive a Grant or Contract from Government (Multiple Choice Question)	230
Table 7.5	The Perceived Impacts of Government Funding on SSCOs (Multiple Choice Question)	232
Table 8.1	Symbiotic Model of the Relationship between Government and SSCOs—Organisational Perspective	263

List of Figures

		Page
Figure 1.1	Influences between Social Ideology and TSOs	36
Figure 1.2	Types of TSOs in Taiwan	38
Figure 1.3	Types of Membership Associations in Taiwan	39
Figure 1.4	Types of Social Associations in Taiwan	43
Figure 1.5	Relationships between TSOs and Their Social , Economic and Political Environments	47
Figure 1.6	Influences between TSOs and Legal System	49
Figure 3.1	The Conceptual Framework	120
Figure 8.1	The Spectrum of Governance Type of SSCOs in Taiwan	254
Figure 8.2	Resonance Effect between Government and SSCOs in Service Implementation	267

Abbreviations

CCF	Chinese Children Fund
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CO	Charitable Organisation
DPP	Democratic Progress Party in Taiwan
JHCNSP	Johns Hopkins Comparative Non-profit Sector Project
KMT	Kuomintang or Nationalist Party in Taiwan
MP	Member of Parliament
OPWC	Organisations for Public Welfare and Charity
OSPW	Organisations for Social Public Welfare
OSA	Occupational and Social Association
ROC	Republic of China
SSCO	Social Service and Charitable Organisation
SSO	Social Service Organisation
TSO	Third Sector Organisation

Foreword

The setting of this research is Taiwan and the researcher was born and brought up there. Before the commencement of this thesis, therefore, it might be helpful to present a brief national profile to give a general picture of Taiwan and the researcher's background.

History of the past fifty years

Taiwan is an island in East Asia. The official name of the country is the Republic of China (ROC) which is the first democratic country in Asia and was established by Dr. Sun, Yet-Sen in 1911. Constitutionally, the territories of ROC include mainland China, Taiwan and other islands. However, since the Nationalist Party (called Kuomintang or KMT) lost the civil war to the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 1949, the CCP renamed China as the 'People's Republic of China' (PRC). Until now, Communist China proclaims Taiwan is part of PRC, but Taiwan also proclaims mainland China is part of ROC. The continuous military, diplomatic and economic conflicts between mainland China and Taiwan have become an international issue and really need to be solved by political and diplomatic negotiation in the near future.

Geography

The main island of Taiwan is located around 200 kilometres off the south eastern coast of mainland China. The island is 394 kilometres (245 miles) long and 144 kilometres (89 miles) wide with a total area of 36,179 square kilometres. On the island, there are a lot of mountains which range 330 kilometres from north to south and cover 80 kilometres from east to west. Those mountains occupy almost half of the island. Consequently, only one-third of land in the island is arable (Government

Information Office, 2006).

Population

According to the Statistical Yearbook of the Ministry of Interior, by the end of 2005, Taiwan had a population of 22,770,383 (Department of Statistics, Ministry of Interior, 2006). Of the population, 98 per cent are of Chinese ethnicity. The majority of them originally came from south eastern provinces of China. People who moved from China to Taiwan before 1949 used to call themselves Taiwanese, while people who moved after 1949 commonly refer to themselves as 'mainlanders'. In addition, there are 2 per cent aborigines including nine main tribes, who have inhabited Taiwan much longer than Chinese people (Government Information Office, 2006).

Language

In Taiwan, Mandarin is the official and most popular language. Beside Mandarin, there are some other local dialects such as Taiwanese and Hakka. Different tribes of aborigines also have their own languages, but only a few people can speak these languages nowadays (Government Information Office, 2006).

Religion

Confucianism is the most dominant source of social values and serves as the foundation of both Chinese and Taiwanese culture. Confucianism is a philosophy rather than a religion, and provides a set of ethical principles to encourage harmony in society. Many religions have been influenced by Confucianism. Approximately 93 per cent of Taiwanese believe in a combination of Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism. 4.5 per cent identify themselves as Christians and 2.5 per cent of the population believe in other religions (Wikipedia, 2006).

Chapter One

Introduction: Third Sector Organisations in Taiwan and the Need for a Study

1.1 Introduction

This study is about the role and operation of 'third sector' organisations within the Taiwanese social welfare context. (see Glossary for the explanation of the term of 'social welfare' and also for other specialist terms used throughout the thesis)

Taiwan is a modern Chinese society and well known for its successful economic performance. Over the past five decades, under the guidance of governmental economic plans, it has created an 'economic miracle' and has become one of the four Asian 'little tigers'. By the end of 2004, the GNP per capital of Taiwan had reached 14,770 US dollars (Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, 2005a). Taiwan has successfully transformed itself from an agricultural country into a modern industrialised country.

From the late 1970s, some politicians who were not satisfied with the government started to challenge the one party, Nationalist Party¹, political regime. Under pressure from waves of social movements and campaigns, Taiwan began a series of political reforms such as the abolition of Martial Law, parliament reform and direct public voting in presidential elections. The one-party dominant government was replaced by a totally democratic polity. Taiwan is now a reformed liberal democratic country.

¹ The Nationalist Party (called Kuomintang or KMT) governed Taiwan from 1945 until the Democratic Progress Party (it was established in 1986 and also called DPP) won the presidential election in 2000.

Besides Taiwan's economic and political performances, social welfare development is another remarkable achievement. Within the past five decades, alongside the economic and political development, Taiwan has also established its own welfare regime (see Glossary) including comprehensive social insurance schemes, national health insurance, a social assistance system and extensive social service programmes. A national pension scheme has also been planned and is expected to be implemented in 2009 (Executive Yuan, 2006). Gradually, traditional family systems were unable to meet more and more complicated individual needs. Government has increasingly taken more responsibility to help families to look after their dependent family members.

Within the development of the social welfare regime in Taiwan, government predominantly conducted or regulated most of the welfare schemes such as social insurance and social assistance. But, interestingly, it increasingly devolved the direct role of 'social service' (see Glossary) provision to 'civil organisations' (民間組織), which have been widely acknowledged as similar to 'non-profit', 'voluntary', 'civil society' or 'third sector' organisations in social science commentary in Taiwan (Feng, 2000a and 2000b; Hsiao, 2000). Within the past two decades, Government has issued policies and guidelines such as 'The Guiding Principles of Social Welfare Policy' and 'Social Welfare Services Subsidy Regulations' and has used different methods such as grants and contracts to draw civil organisations into the social service provision system. The interaction between government and civil organisations has been gradually transforming from formal supervision by government based on legal requirements to closer cooperation based on institutional financial support by government for social service provision. Social service delivery by civil organisations has become a leading social policy approach in Taiwan (Leu and Kuo, 2003; Liu,

2000).

Civil organisations appear to be compliant about government social service provision policy. Civil organisations, especially the ‘social service’ and ‘charitable’ organisations (SSCOs), which have been established for various social services, have grown dramatically. At the same time, many civil organisations have become more and more professional and increasingly involved in social service provision over the past two decades. Certainly, civil organisations have played an important role in social service delivery and policy making processes. An ‘associationalist’ social service provision system (Hirst, 1994) seems to be developing in Taiwan.

Most Taiwanese commentators view the phenomenon of the rapid growth of civil organisations from a political perspective and regard it as a by-product of political reform, particularly the abolition of Martial Law (Hsiao, 2000; Hsieh, 2000; Ku, 1999). They argue that the abolition of Martial law provided people with a ‘public realm’ to freely associate together and that this caused the rapid growth of civil organisations. Alternatively they see associations as one of the important forces for political reforms, a reflection of the demand for civil society (e.g. Hsiao, 2004). Particular attention has been given to specific civil organisations, which campaign on political, economic and social issues and try to influence political reforms and government policies.

These theories of political reform and demand for civil society do provide some explanation for the significant growth of civil organisations in Taiwan. However, they do not explain why many civil organisations already existed before the abolition of Martial Law. Nor do they explain the existence of many other different civil

organisations which were not involved in political and social advocacy. Particularly, little attention has been paid to the reasons why civil organisations which are involved in various social services grew significantly in the past two decades and became increasingly involved in social service provision.

Many key questions about the expanding involvement of civil organisations in social service provision, and the apparent complementarity between those civil organisations and governmental social policy, remain unanswered. Attracted by the phenomenon that many civil organisations in Taiwan, especially those related to social services and charity, have grown rapidly since the late 1980s and have been increasingly involved in social services provision, this research is driven by the intention to understand how TSOs operate and play their role within Taiwanese social welfare context.

Since there has been little academic focus on these issues of social policy and civil organisations in Taiwan (eg Leu, 2001), this research is expected to contribute to knowledge of social policy in Taiwan and to the study of organisations which are in neither the government nor the commercial sector. Even though similar organisational and social policy studies have been undertaken in many countries and even though many theories have been developed in Western industrialised countries, little attention has been paid up to now to Chinese societies. Therefore, this research, grounded in a Chinese cultural and social context, can potentially provide new insights to complement earlier studies in Western countries.

In this opening chapter, following the introduction section, the terminology employed to represent civil organisations in Taiwan in this research is discussed. Then the ideological and historical roots of civil organisations in Taiwan are introduced to

demonstrate the distinctive social and cultural features of those organisations. Afterwards, an outline picture of the growth of civil organisations in Taiwan is provided. It illustrates how those organisations act in a changing environment and their close interaction with government. The focus of this research is then presented. Finally, the outline of the thesis is provided.

1.2 The terminology employed to represent organisations between government and market in Taiwan

Organisations which are different from both government and the market have been variously termed 'non-profit', 'non-government', 'voluntary', 'civil society organisations' or 'third sector organisations' by social science academics. Some scholars use further terms, such as 'intermediate organisation' (Ware, 1989) or 'citizen sector' (Najam, 1999), to draw attention to the different features or functions of those organisations. In practice, the different terms tend to reflect the different characteristics and types of those organisations in different countries. Gidron et al. (1992: 2-3) point out that these organisations '*take quite different forms in different national settings, reflecting differences in cultural traditions, legal structures, and political histories*'. Terminologies have often been created, then, to reflect the cultural or social meanings and organisational characteristics of their own national settings.

Among those various terminologies, common ground can be found using the definition of the Johns Hopkins Comparative Non-profit Sector Project (JHCNSP). In order to do a comparative study of non-profit organisations in different countries, JHCNSP developed an operational definition with five key conditions that: organisations should be organised; private; non-profit-distributing; self-governing; and voluntary (Salamon and Anheier, 1997: 33-34). It successfully depicted the

important organisational and operational characteristics of 'non-profit' or similar organisations in different countries. Many countries have participated in the JHCNSP and used the definition to generate very important descriptive and comparative data (Steinberg and Young, 1998).

Basically, 'civil organisations' in Taiwan share all the conditions of the JHCNSP definition. Civil organisations in Taiwan are founded voluntarily, distinct from government and market, non-profit distributing and working for public interest. However, although civil organisations in Taiwan, like similar organisations in other countries, do fit the JHCNSP definition, the cultural characteristics and social meanings of civil organisations in Taiwan are not fully revealed by the JHCNSP definition. Moreover, well known terminologies such as 'non-profit organisations' mainly reflect the organisational features of their own social settings. So they too do not fully reflect the characteristics of civil organisations in Taiwan.

In fact, in Chinese characters, the meaning of 'civil organisation' primarily conveys that those organisations are organised by virtuous people rather than by civil servants or public officials. And the very existence of these organisations is understood as being grounded in people's virtuousness or benevolence, as derived from Confucian doctrines (see section 1.3). Due to their strong charitable or benevolent characteristic, these organisations used to be referred to in Mandarin as 'charitable organisations'. In fact, even though different images and meanings of these organisations have been gradually introduced under the influence of some Western ideas such as social justice and equality, in newspapers, publications, common daily language and even in some official documents, people still use the terms 'civil charitable organisations' (民間慈善組織或團體), 'organisations for public welfare and charity' (OPWC) (公益慈善團

體) or 'organisations for social public welfare' (OSPW) (社會公益團體) to refer to organisations established by virtuous and moral people voluntarily for public interests. In short, characteristics of being 'non-profit' or 'voluntary' are not the initial concerns of civil organisations in Taiwan. In addition, civil organisations in Taiwan do not see themselves as intermediate between government and the market nor do they see themselves as competing with government. In fact the very term 'civil society organisation' does not reflect the original intention of civil organisations in Taiwan either. As a result, the terminologies of 'non-profit', 'voluntary' or 'civil society organisation' are not suitable for referring to represent civil organisations in Taiwan.

In order to easily communicate with international social science academics and students while also not distorting the original meaning of 'civil organisations' in Taiwan, this research will use a more neutral term 'third sector organisation' (TSO) throughout the rest of the thesis to refer to the organisations in Taiwan which provide services and are neither for-profit businesses nor governmental agencies. The relevant literatures which are involved with 'non-profit organisations', 'voluntary organisations', 'non-government organisations' or 'civil society organisations' are still referred to as appropriate and these terminologies are also kept if they are the original usage in literature referred to.

1.3 The historical and ideological roots of third sector organisations in Taiwan

As explained in the last section, TSOs are embedded in historical, social and cultural settings in a country. Therefore, it is difficult to understand TSOs without looking at their historical and ideological roots. Harris has suggested that the study of the organisation of any contemporary institution should include its historical roots (Harris,

1998:10-11). Thus, in this section, the historical and ideological traditions of TSOs in Taiwan are presented.

Taiwan is a typical 'Chinese' society. Rooted in Chinese cultural soil, the historical traditions and ideological foundation of TSOs in Taiwan have been deeply influenced by Chinese culture and values - especially Confucianism as well as some Buddhist and popular ideas. Those ideological and historical roots are reflected in unique characteristics and traditions. Basically, in traditional Chinese society, the establishment of TSOs could be regarded as an organisation of personal virtuousness or benevolence, which is mainly derived from Confucian doctrines (Lin, 1990).

In addition to personal philanthropic activities, mutual help within clan and neighbourhood, religious service given by monasteries and temples, and organisations established by virtuous people to provide social services have existed in Chinese society for a long time. For example, in the late Ming and early Qing dynasty (1580-1750A.D.) many TSOs were established by local elites or 'upper class people' (see Glossary) to aid impoverished widows, bury the unclaimed dead, set up soup kitchens and provide capital to merchants and doctors (Smith, 1987: 309). However, traditionally, these organisations functioned with strong social and moral missions. The original intentions of traditional TSOs in Chinese society were not to directly solve social problems but to educate people to solve their own problems by themselves, and to maintain social order and the service giver's social status.

Leung (1997) investigated over 2,000 local records of charitable organisations in the Qing dynasty. Leung argued that dealing with the poverty problem was not the principal intention of charitable organisations. In fact, even though these organisations

did provide emergency relief to poor people, the ultimate goals were to teach people ethics and ask them to work hard to solve their own problems and to maintain social order. For example, some charitable organisations provided emergency relief to poor widows. Actually, they did not only provide poverty relief for the widows but also they emphasised the importance of maintaining widowhood for social order. As the organisations were usually established by upper-class people, those people could also maintain their social status and reputation when they provided services. Leung (1997) argued that in fact, moral intention was the most distinctive feature of traditional TSOs in Chinese society. Even nowadays, especially in rural areas of Taiwan, there are still many TSOs which follow traditional ways and ideas to provide poverty and emergency relief services to people and also offer spiritual lectures to educate people to become moral and virtuous. For many people in Taiwan, TSOs are expected to have the characteristics of public interest, a moral base and a charitable mission.

Some ideas of Buddhism and popular ideas which have been blended with Confucianism have also influenced personal charitable behaviours and the involvement of TSOs in social services. For example, the ideas of karma and merit-accumulation also drive people to participate in TSOs in Taiwan (Chu, 1993; Ting, 1998). People believe helping people can bring good fortune to themselves and their families. Participating in TSOs can demonstrate their goodness and accumulate merit. In research in Taiwan by Chu, 57% of respondents believed that doing benevolent activities could avoid bad karma (Chu, 1993). In addition, Ting studied Taiwan's Buddhist Tzu-Chi Association, which is the biggest charitable organisation based on Buddhism in Taiwan, and found that 42 out of 76 (55.2%) interviewees acknowledged that their purpose in participating in the organisation was to accumulate merit (Ting, 1998). The popular idea of merit accumulation appears to be

one of the driving forces for many Taiwanese to get involved in TSOs and to help others in need. So in studying TSOs in Taiwan, their roots in traditional ideologies need to be borne in mind.

However, a more recent trend, alongside social and economic development and the growth of the bourgeoisie, is that more and more people in Taiwan now receive higher education. They are interested in public affairs and are also keen to defend their civil rights. Influenced by Western ideas of social justice, social welfare and democracy, which have been introduced by Taiwanese academics, more and more newly established TSOs are concerned with social justice and equality rather than 'charitable' mission; for example the 'Parents' Association for People with Intellectual Disability, R.O.C' and 'Alliance for Promoting Welfare of Elderly People, R.O.C'. They campaign for better social welfare for disadvantaged people, lobby members of parliament to support their social service proposals and debate social policy with public officials. Even though they respond to the social expectations on them, they try also to provide different images and meanings of TSOs to Taiwanese society and they are gradually being accepted by people.

It seems then, that there is a mutual influence between social ideology and TSOs (see Figure 1.1).

Figure 1.1 Influences between Social Ideology and TSOs



In Taiwan, there are many different types of TSOs. From traditional charitable TSOs to contemporary professional TSOs, they all exist to provide different services with different purposes. Some of them still possess their traditional roots and others are more influenced by Western ideas. Certainly, many TSOs are operating between traditional forms and contemporary forms. Billis (1993:158-171) suggested that the voluntary sector contains elements of the personal, associational and bureaucratic worlds. Individual third sector organisations may operate with elements of one or more worlds in different combinations. This implies that they can operate in different forms. They function in different ways and meet different social needs. Their differences are reflected in their action, operation, ideology, services and governance. Therefore, this study takes organisational variety into account, rather assumes a homogeneous sector.

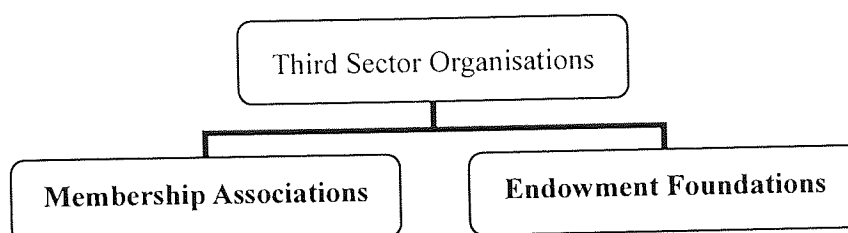
1.4 The types of third sector organisations in Taiwan

Third sector organisations can be classified according to different criteria such as their founding purpose, services, clients and legal status. In Taiwan, academics generally use legal requirements to classify TSOs. Based on the legal requirements, TSOs in Taiwan can be categorised into two main types: membership association and endowment-foundation (see Figure 1.2). And there are different types of organisations in each main category.

Basically, the legal requirement to establish a membership association is based on a certain number of founding members and the requirement to establish an endowment foundation is based on a certain amount of money. One is mainly based on people; the other one is mainly based on funding. Both of them are regulated by specific

governmental authorities and specific Acts and regulations.

Figure 1.2 Types of TSOs in Taiwan



1.4.1 Membership associations

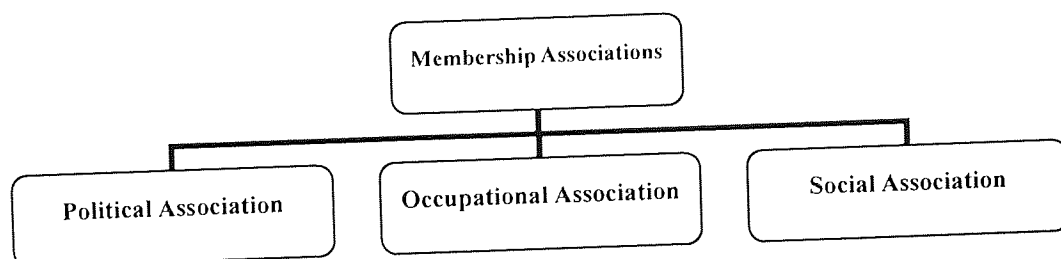
The general description of a membership association can be found in the statement of the Department of Social Affairs of the Ministry of Interior. It points out that 'membership associations are founded by people with common interest, occupation, belief, same home town or consanguinity. The aims of those organisations are to consolidate people from different social classes to contribute their intelligence and manpower to serve society, to help government to undertake policies and to ultimately promote social harmony and national prosperity' (translated from the web page of Department of Social Affairs, Ministry of Interior 2006a).

All membership associations are regulated by the 'Civil Association Act', which was first issued in 1942 and last amended in 2002 (Department of Social Affairs, Ministry of Interior, 2006b). However, following the abolition of Martial Law, the most important amendment of the Civil Association Act is that people do not need to get permission from government before they establish a membership association. This change does provide people with an easier process to organise a legal association.

According to the Civil Association Act, the legal requirement to establish a membership association is to recruit at least 30 founding members and register with the government. Every membership association is under the jurisdiction of the interior authorities of the central government or the social affairs department of provincial and county governments, depending on which level of government they register with. Registering with different levels of government also defines different service areas. Organisations which register with central government can serve the whole Taiwan area; those organisations which register with provincial government can serve the provincial area and organisations which register with county government can only serve the county area.

Article four of the 'Civil Association Act' points out that there are three different types of membership association: political associations (such as political parties); occupational associations (like commercial unions, trade unions); and social associations (including such as sports club, cultural associations and various social services associations) (see Figure 1.3).

Figure 1.3 Types of Membership Association in Taiwan



The Act further defines three different types of membership associations as follows: political associations are established by people who adhere to the same political belief

and ideology. They try to help people to develop their political approach and encourage people to participate in political activities (Article 44); occupational associations are founded by people working in the same type of occupation and aim to mediate the relationship between business owner and workers, increase their common interest and promote social economic development (Article 35); and social associations are defined as a group of people who aim to promote the development of culture, academia, health, religion, charity, sport, social cohesion, social services and other public welfare (Article 39).

1.4.2 Endowment foundations

As for endowment foundations in Taiwan, according to their founding purpose, they have to register with different government departments and they are supervised by the government departments which they register with. There are around twenty governmental authorities such as Ministries of Interior, Education, Environment, Economic Affairs and Veterans' Affairs. Each of them has their own regulations to supervise their own foundations.

The essential legal requirement to establish a foundation is based on a certain amount of funding ranging from NT\$1 million (approximately 30,000 US\$ in 2007) to NT\$50 million depending on which department and level of government a foundation wants to register with (Kuan, 2000). Take social welfare foundations for example. People have to have available at least NT\$ 30 millions for founding a national foundation which registers with the Ministry of Interior and NT\$ 10 million for a local foundation which registers with a county government. Due to this need to have a certain amount of funding to organise a foundation, ordinary people are generally

unable to participate in the establishment of foundations. Therefore, regarding public participation, foundations are quite different from membership associations. Foundations do not aim to provide a public vehicle for people to freely associate together to be concerned about social issues. Hsiao (2000: 114) pointed out that in Taiwan, in order to avoid control by membership and to easily operate an organisation some people prefer to establish foundations rather than membership associations. Although there are many foundations founded for public interest and providing social services, some foundations are founded for different purposes.

Some foundations are established by millionaires and commercial enterprise for tax exemption. In order to accumulate political resources and build up their reputation, some politicians also started foundations (Kuan, 2000). In addition to the foundations created by individual donation and corporations, there are some actually founded by government. This is in order to facilitate important economic or social developments, for political reasons or to avoid supervision by the parliament. Examples include the China Aviation Development Foundation, the National Culture and Arts Foundations and the Straits Exchange Foundation. These foundations function more like quasi-government agents than TSOs and their audit does not need to be supervised by parliament. Excluding the special governmental foundations, operationally, most foundations fall within the JHCNSP definition.

In the past five decades, TSOs in Taiwan have grown significantly. However, looking into the details of their growth, different types of TSOs have grown at different rates. In the next section, a picture of the growth of different types of TSOs is provided.

1.5 The growth of third sector organisations in Taiwan in the past three decades

TSOs in Taiwan have continuously increased within the past five decades. However, their dramatic growth actually started in the late 1980s. Among the TSOs, membership associations (including occupational and social associations) have increased faster than endowment foundations and are far more than endowment foundations in quantity as well. By the end of 2005, there were 35,732 occupational and social associations (Department of Statistics, Ministry of Interior, 2006). As to the endowment foundations, the more recent figure reveals that there were only 3,014 foundations in 2000 (Himalaya Foundation, 2001). In fact, the rapid growth of membership associations in Taiwan (including occupational and social associations) constitutes most of the growth of TSOs in Taiwan.

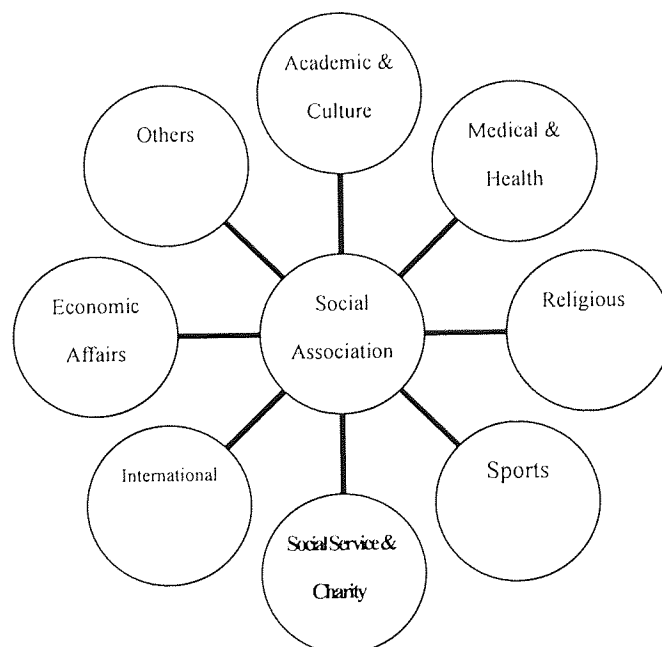
1.5.1 The growth of membership associations

Regarding the growth of membership associations, occupational and social associations (OSA) increased from 7,476 in 1977 to 35,732 in 2005 (Department of Statistics, Ministry of Interior, 2005) (see Appendix 1). More than 60 per cent of OSAs were established after 1990. Among OSAs, the growth of social associations was far greater than occupational associations. Occupational associations increased from 4,036 in 1977 to 9,593 in 2005 and social associations increased from 3,440 in 1977 to 26,139 in 2005. Social associations accounted for more than 70 per cent of OSAs in 2005. Consequently, in fact, the rapid growth of membership associations in Taiwan is mostly accounted for by the growth of social associations.

As for social associations, government classifies them into eight main types: academic and cultural association; medical and health association; religious association; sports association; social service and charitable association; international association; economic affairs association; and others such as alumni and consanguinity associations (see Figure 1.4).

Within the eight main types of social association, social service and charitable organisations (SSCO) are the largest single grouping. By the end of 2005, there were 8,244 social service and charitable organisations out of 26,139 social associations (Department of Statistics, Ministry of Interior, 2006) (see Appendix 2). SSCOs accounted for almost one third of social associations in terms of the quantity. The growth of social associations generally is mostly attributable to the growth of SSCOs.

Figure 1.4 Types of Social Associations in Taiwan



1.5.2 The growth of endowment foundations

Due to the various governmental administrative authorities, there are no integrated official statistics to be found on endowment foundations in Taiwan. The most recent and reliable data was supplied by Himalaya Foundation in Taiwan. According to its survey, in the year 2000, there were 3,014 foundations of all types (see Table 1.1) (Himalaya Foundation, 2001).

Table 1.1 Types of Foundations in Taiwan

Types of Foundation	Number	% of Total
Culture and education	2,126	70.5%
Social welfare& charity	479	15.9%
Medical and health care	119	3.9%
Agriculture	43	1.4%
Transportation	41	1.4%
Economic development	33	1.1%
Media	30	1.0%
Environment protection	29	1.0%
Others	114	3.8%
Total	3,014	100.0%

Source: Himalaya Foundation (2001)

About 65 per cent of the foundations in Taiwan were founded after 1987 (Kao and Kuan, 2001). However, their growth rate is still much slower than that of membership associations. Within the endowment foundations, culture and education foundations are far more numerous than other types of foundations. And around 16 per cent of foundations are social welfare and charity foundations. That is perhaps because the initial fund required to establish 'culture' and 'education' foundations is much less

than other types of foundations. And some people establish 'cultural' or 'education' foundations but in reality they aim to provide social welfare services. Therefore, in practice, social welfare and charity foundations are probably more numerous than the official figures suggest.

Some of the foundations actually provide services in addition to raising and giving out funds. Kuan (2000) investigated social welfare and charity foundations and found that 30 per cent of foundations played a role in direct service provision. Even though some foundations in Taiwan do involve themselves in social service provision and provide services in this way, the scale of their involvement in social service is still much smaller than that of membership associations.

The growth of TSOs in Taiwan has been mapped in this section. It reveals that social associations account for most of the growth of TSOs in Taiwan since the late 1980s. And within social associations, in fact, SSCOs have increased faster than any other types of social association. More than 70 per cent of SSCOs were established after 1990. Thus from the view point of scale and also public participation, endowment foundations are less significant than membership associations.

The main purpose of this research is to understand why TSOs in Taiwan exist and are increasingly involved in social service provision, and their role and operation within the Taiwanese social welfare context. Most SSCOs are funded for social service purposes and aim to provide social services and are therefore the prime focus of attention.

1.6 Third sector organisations in a changing environment in Taiwan

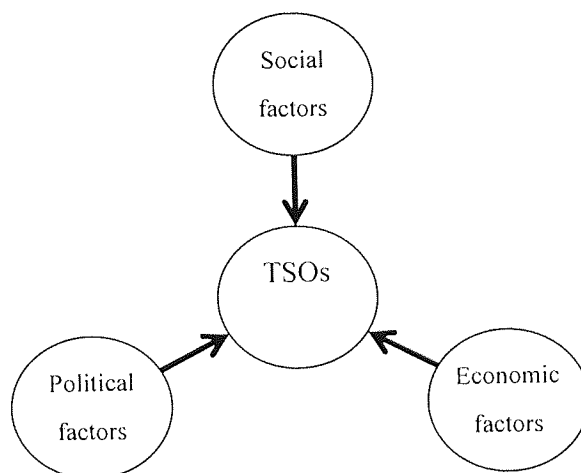
The development and functions of TSOs in a country are highly affected by their national traditions and environments. TSOs play different roles to respond to the demand of their environments. Hall pointed out that 'non-profit organisations exist under a particular combination of ideological, political, social, and economic conditions that are, in turn, the products of a unique set of historical experiences' (Hall, 1987: 3). Therefore, TSOs function differently in different times to respond to different combination of demands from their environments. Lundström & Svedberg (2003) also argue that the historical-contextual factor is the key to understanding the role of the third sector in a country. As a result, even though TSOs play different roles and function differently in different times in a country, they must still be seen as embedded in their social setting and ideological foundation.

Within the past five decades, Taiwan has experienced significant changes in its economic, political and social environment. The development and function of TSOs in Taiwan have been affected by those changes. Hsiao (2000) argued that the long-term economic and social development in the past five decades, and the short-term political reforms since the 1980s, have provided conducive conditions for the development of TSOs in Taiwan (see Figure 1.5). As a result, the development of TSOs in Taiwan needs to be considered within the context of economic, political and social changes.

After the KMT government retreated to Taiwan, and up to the 1970s, Taiwan was still highly threatened by Chinese Communist military attack. Government spent almost all its expenditure on national defence to secure the safety of Taiwan. Understandably,

except for economic development, other aspects of development appeared to be not a national priority. In terms of social welfare development, the government only launched some social insurance programmes mainly based on selected occupations such as military servicemen, labourers and government employees. Social assistance was on a minimum scale and social service was also on a piecemeal basis (Chan, 1985). Individual needs were essentially met by family. There were not many TSOs, especially social associations, at that time and they were not expected to play an important role in social service provision.

Figure 1.5 Relationships between TSOs and Their Social, Economic and Political Environments



Source: Hsiao (2000)

During the 1970s, the military conflicts and tension between mainland China and Taiwan were alleviated. The rapid economic development had brought Taiwan from an agricultural society to a fully industrialised society. But industrialisation and urbanisation generated new social problems. The social changes in Taiwan were similar to those which happened in many Western industrialised countries. Nuclear

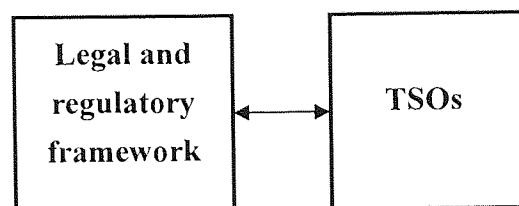
families grew in number, numbers of elderly people increased, and women increasingly participated in the labour market. Many families failed to absorb all the social risks and failed to meet individual needs ('family failure' according to Esping-Andersen, 1998: 37). Families were no longer able to take full responsibility for their members. More and more families became dependent on services beyond the family system. Government started to develop social welfare schemes to deal with social problems. TSOs also gradually became involved in social service provision (Hsiao, 2000; Leu and Kuo, 2003; Liu, 2000).

From the 1980s and onwards, social welfare developed rapidly, especially in the 1990s. It involved expanding the coverage of social insurance, increasing the eligibility for social assistance and expanding social services. Correspondingly, social welfare expenditures also dramatically increased (Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, 2005a). In order to implement expanding welfare schemes with limited government resources, many statutory plans were issued such as the 'Plan of Reinforcing Associating Social Resource to Provide Social Welfare Sciences' in 1983 and 'The Guidelines for Undertaking Social Welfare Privatisation' in 1997. These were intended to encourage TSOs to get involved in the social service provision system. Government became more reliant on the welfare provision of TSOs. Alongside the increasing involvement of TSOs in social service provision, TSOs took on other roles such as policy advocacy, policy making and value protection in many countries (Ferris, 1998; Kramer, 1981; Taylor, 1999).

Gradually interdependence between government and TSOs increased. In Taiwan, government issued various legal regulations and policies to draw TSOs into the social service provision system and TSOs, in turn, tried to influence government to enact

legislation to improve social service provision (see Figure 1.6).

Figure 1.6 Influences between TSOs and Legal System



1.7 Increasingly closer interaction between government and TSOs in Taiwan

Cooperation between government and TSOs in social service provision existed in Taiwanese society for a long time. During the Qing dynasty (1644-1911A.D.), there were 17 social relief agencies in Taiwan. Eight of them were established by local government, five by the collaboration of government and upper class people, and two by upper class people alone. Furthermore, agency relief for widows and orphans in Taiwan has existed since 1870. There were eight agencies in Taiwan and all of them were established by local elites and upper class people or through collaboration between government and elites and upper class people (Taiwan Provincial Documentary Committee, 1972: 64-91). More recently, alongside the development of the Taiwanese social welfare regime, cooperation between government and TSOs in social service provision has increased significantly. Meanwhile, the relationships between government and TSOs have also been transformed within the past two decades from formal supervision and reserved relations to more supportive and close relations.

Before the 1980s, the relationship between government and TSOs was mainly based

on official supervision which was regulated by the 'Civil Association Act' and some implicit encouragement principles such as 'Contemporary Social Policy of People's Livelihood' in 1965 and 'The Principles of Contemporary Social Construction' in 1968 (Liu, 1984), which declared that government should encourage TSOs to provide social services. The relationship between government and TSOs was more reserved and subordinate than close and equal.

After the 1980s, the relationship between government and TSOs started to change gradually. Increasingly, it was based not only on official supervision and implicit encouragement but also on cooperation and institutional financial support, especially for social service provision. The principle of inviting TSOs to provide social services did not change. But at the same time, government was coming under pressure to provide more social services to meet individual and families' need. As a result, government drew TSOs into the social service provision system to provide various services. In 1989, the Ministry of Interior issued the 'Social Welfare Services Subsidy Regulations' (Department of social affairs, Ministry of Interior, 2005a), which are comprehensive guides to TSOs for applying for central government funding (the major funding by government for the third sector) to provide social services. In the regulations, it clearly lists the service items eligible for funding and the requirements to apply for funding. That government institutionally funds TSOs to provide social services has become a formal social policy approach since then. The regulations essentially brought the relationship between government and TSOs into a new era. This implies that government will not be the sole direct social service provider, and that cooperation between government and TSOs has become increasingly close (Leu, 2001; Leu and Kuo, 2003).

According to the Annual Report of Social Administration in 2004 (Department of Social Affairs, Ministry of Interior, 2005b), from 1989 to 2004, central government funded more than 86.1 billions new Taiwanese dollars (approximate 2.6 billions US\$ in 2007) to local governments and TSOs to undertake more than 56,000 different social service programmes. The 'The Guiding Principles of Social Welfare Policy', which were first issued in 1994 and amended in 2004, was a key document (Department of Social Affairs, Ministry of Interior, 2005c). It was the first time that the claim was made as formal policy that building partnerships between the government and the third sector to provide social services was one of the nine main principles of social policy. Government was confirming that involving people and non-government resources was an important direction of social policy (Department of social affairs, Ministry of Interior, 2005c). Meanwhile, many TSOs also wanted governmental funding to sustain their own operation and service provision. In fact, Government and TSOs increasingly came to rely on each other.

Alongside closer collaboration between government and TSOs and the increase in financial support from government, issues like the autonomy of TSOs and the impacts of government financial support on the operation and development of TSOs have been the concern of many academics (Kramer, 1981; Salamon, 1995; Taylor, 1992). Does this apply to TSOs in Taiwan? This is one of the points to be addressed in this dissertation.

1.8 The focus of this research

In the past five decades, accompanying economic and political development, a social welfare regime has also gradually developed in Taiwan. Within the institutional

environmental changes and demands since the late 1980s, TSOs have increased dramatically and have become actively involved in social service provision in the Taiwanese social welfare context. This phenomenon has not only become an important policy issue but has also had significant impact on the development and operation of TSOs in Taiwan. This research will examine the reason why TSOs have been established and actively participate in social service provision, and will also examine their role and operation within the social welfare context in Taiwan.

1.9 Thesis Outline

The remainder of this thesis is organised as follows:

In Chapter Two, the characteristics and ideologies of the Taiwanese social welfare regime are examined. The chapter then provides a historical overview of social welfare development in Taiwan in the past five decades and shows how third sector organisations operate in the changing social welfare context. Finally, the emerging topics for further study are proposed.

Chapter Three provides an examination of existing theories and literature of TSOs. It includes a discussion of why TSOs emerge in a country, how TSOs act out their role(s), how they interact with government and how historical tradition, ideology and institutional environments affect their formation and operation. This examination provides not only an understanding of those issues which have been studied in Western countries and Taiwan so far, but also points out the knowledge gap left to be bridged. Following an examination of the existing literature on TSOs, the research questions and conceptual framework of this research are proposed.

Chapter Four deals with the methodological issues related to this research. It starts with an introduction to philosophical considerations of social research and the comparison between quantitative and qualitative research. Following it, the rationale for the research approach which has been employed is discussed. It introduces the 'mixed methods research' approach and explains how it works. The research strategy, triangulation, is discussed as well. The quantitative and qualitative research process, including how to sample and how to collect the data, are discussed. The issue of reflexivity is raised to respond to the position of the researcher in the qualitative part of this research. The final part of this chapter examines the contributions and limitations of this research.

Chapter Five differentiates SSOs and COs and then portrays the characteristics of social service and charitable organisations in Taiwan including their background, human resources, annual income and expenditure. Their distinctive features, based on the quantitative and qualitative empirical data, are also mapped.

Chapter Six provides empirical data to explain why SSCOs (social service and charitable organisations) are established and the impact of Martial Law abolition on their establishment. The role of SSCOs within the Taiwanese social welfare context, their contributions to society and how they operate in the broader institutional social context are presented. Finally, the data on how SSCOs might develop their organisations in the future is presented.

Chapter Seven focuses on the relationship between the Taiwanese government and SSCOs within the social welfare context. Influential factors such as the government role, government funding, and organisational features of SSCOs are examined. In

addition, the impacts of SSCOs on government within their interaction are explored. Finally, how the interaction between government and SSCOs impacts on the development and implementation of social policy and social service is examined.

Chapter Eight brings together the main findings with the earlier literature review and provides analysis, discussion, and suggestions for further research. A discussion of organisational features is provided. The evolutionary development of SSCOs is presented to explain the diversity of TSOs in Taiwan. Then models are proposed, which provide explanations of why increasing involvement of SSCOs in social service provision is happening in Taiwan, what the role of SSCOs is, and the symbiotic relationships between the Taiwanese government and SSCOs. In addition, a concept of a 'resonance effect' is proposed to describe how interaction between government and SSCOs affects the implementation of social policy and social services. The mutual influence between environment and SSCOs is also discussed. The final part of this chapter provides conclusions and the research implications for social policy and TSO research. Important issues for future research are also suggested.

Chapter Two

Study Focus: Third Sector Organisations in the Changing Environment in Taiwan

2.1 Introduction

This study focuses on TSOs in Taiwan and looks at why they are increasingly involved in social service provision, and their operation and role within the social welfare context. Here the development of the Taiwanese social welfare regime over the past fifty years is introduced to show how TSOs develop and operate in their social context. Following the review of the development of the social welfare regime, the researcher closes the chapter by pointing to emerging topics for further study.

This chapter comprises three main parts: the features of the Taiwanese social welfare regime and its ideological foundation including Confucianism; a historical review of the development of the Taiwanese social welfare regime and TSOs within the past fifty years; and emerging topics for further study.

In the first part, the Taiwanese social welfare regime is shown to have many attributes (Jones, 1993; Saunders, 1996), which are quite different from Western welfare systems such as the British, German or Swedish welfare regimes. Like the traditional Chinese ideological influence on TSOs, ideas of Confucianism are also considered as explanatory factors for the features of the Taiwanese welfare regime. In order to understand how the ideas of Confucianism are connected to social welfare ideas, the classic Confucian literatures are examined and presented.

The second part is a discussion of Taiwanese social welfare development and focuses

on the past five decades. Before Taiwan was under the rule of the Government of the Republic of China (ROC), Taiwan was colonised by Japan from 1895 to 1945. Although the Japanese government introduced some social welfare measures into Taiwan, these welfare measures were very limited and were regarded as a tool of social control rather than real services to improve Taiwanese well-being (Ku, 1997: 29). Over the past five decades, Taiwan has been developing better social welfare schemes and has established its own social welfare regime. In addition, accompanying social welfare development, the function and development of TSOs has been significantly affected by the changing social environment. Therefore, in the second part of this chapter, the discussion not only focuses on the development of Taiwanese social welfare but also on the development of TSOs.

Within the context of traditional Chinese ideology and the development of the Taiwanese social welfare regime, some key topics about TSOs requiring further research are raised in part three.

2.2 The features of the Taiwanese social welfare regime and its ideological foundation

Traditionally, in Chinese society, apart from disaster and famine relief, government was not obligated to provide comprehensive social services for individuals and families. That is because family was the essential social unit for providing most services to satisfy individual needs. If the family failed to function properly, the clan could play a complementary role to support the family. Basically, individual life from cradle to grave was protected within the family system. The traditional social security net was woven by a strong family system and close neighbourhood networks, which were primarily based on consanguinity and locality. Governmental social welfare

schemes, if they existed, were complementary to the basic family welfare system.

This social welfare design was supported by the dominant Chinese ideology - Confucianism. The ideology is also reflected in the characteristics of Taiwanese social welfare regime even today. Even though there are not many research studies of Taiwanese social welfare development, many comparative studies of Asian countries including Taiwan note the significant attributes of the Taiwanese social welfare regime.

In the next section, the characteristics of the Taiwanese social welfare regime are presented and then the relevant Confucian welfare ideas which have appeared in the classic Confucian literatures are also provided to demonstrate the connections between Confucian ideas and the attributes of the Taiwanese social welfare regime.

2.2.1 Salient characteristics of the Taiwanese welfare regime

The Taiwanese social welfare regime possesses many distinctive features which are different from those of Western welfare regimes and these have been recognised to be deeply influenced by traditional Chinese ideology - Confucianism (Chan, 1985; Lin, 1990). The notions of Confucianism which are generally mentioned include authoritarian government, paternal benevolence, respect for seniors and authority, strong family values and duties, filial piety, conflict avoidance, and dutifulness (Goodman and Peng, 1996; Jones, 1993). Lin (1991) argues that the social philanthropic ideas of Confucianism have had an important influence on the development of Taiwanese social welfare ideas which include personal moral benevolent behaviour, paternalism, moral education, family obligation, social order

and benevolent government. Chan points out that the ideas of Taiwanese social welfare are fundamentally based on paternalism and altruism, which are fermented within the context of Confucianism (Chan, 1985: 324).

In order to point out the characteristics of welfare regimes affected by Confucianism in Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea and Singapore, Jones (1993) created the term, 'Confucian Welfare State' to convey the distinctive features of welfare regimes in those countries. She pointed out that dependence on non-statutory social welfare institutions is a common characteristic of Confucian welfare states. In addition, Jones (1990) found that Confucian social welfare measures mainly rely on family support. So she uses the term 'Oikonomic welfare state' to depict the characteristics of such social welfare schemes in Asian countries. The term means that the household is the principal institution to satisfy individual needs. Saunders (1996:4) also pointed out that in many Asian countries including Taiwan, family responsibility and obligation are the essential elements of the welfare tradition; to provide services for their members. In welfare states strongly influenced by Confucianism, family is fundamental and the state complements the family role.

In an 'Oikonomic welfare system', enhancing family ability to provide services to meet members' needs becomes an important task for government. Economic development and full employment are key ways in which governments can help ordinary families to sustain their ability to provide welfare services. Therefore, in Confucian welfare states, governments endeavour to promote economic growth, create work opportunities and decrease the unemployment rate. Thus, Goodman and Peng (1996) examined the social policies of Japan, Taiwan and South Korea and found that policy makers generally prioritise economic development over social

development. Similarly, Holliday (2000) adopted the model of Esping-Andersen's 'worlds of welfare capitalism' (1990) to analyse social policy in Japan, Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan and South Korea, classifying those countries into a new category of 'productivist welfare capitalism' rather than any of Esping-Andersen's models. By this he meant that these countries mainly focus on statutory development and most policies are subordinate to economic growth. In short, the governments of these countries use economic development to support social developments.

These findings demonstrate the distinctive features, including family responsibility for service provision, the priority of high economic growth and values of hard work and self reliance of many Asian welfare regimes. Jones (1993: 214) summarised the significant characteristics of Confucian welfare states as '*conservative corporatism without (Western style) worker participation, subsidiarity without the church, solidarity without equality, laissez-faire without libertarianism*'.

Even though the characteristics of Confucian welfare states have been depicted by several academics, how those welfare ideas are connected to Confucianism have rarely been discussed. Consequently, it might be helpful to conceive Confucian welfare ideas in more detail by reviewing classic Confucian literature. In the next subsection, therefore, 'Great Learning', 'Doctrine of the Mean', 'Confucian Analects' and 'Mencius', the four foundational books of Confucian literature are examined in order to demonstrate how Confucianism is connected to social welfare ideas and why the Taiwanese government has never stopped emphasising economic growth and family responsibility in its welfare regime.

2.2.2 Confucian social welfare ideas and their connection to Taiwanese social welfare development

In order to preserve traditional Chinese culture, the Taiwanese government has put a lot of effort into maintaining traditional Chinese customs, teaching classic Confucian literature in high schools and using traditional standard Chinese characters in writing. Confucian doctrines such as family ethics, filial piety, respect for authority and self duty have always been emphasised in Taiwanese families. In this researcher's experience, Confucianism is still the most important social ideology in contemporary Taiwanese society.

Confucianism is a set of philosophical thinking and ethics intended to guide people to become virtuous by self cultivation, to organise a good family, to keep harmonious relationships with other people and to have a successful life in society. In traditional Chinese society, the success of social institutions including social welfare depends on people's virtuousness and morality. This idea can be illustrated in a classic Confucian source - The Great Learning. It states:

'...The ancients, who wished to illustrate illustrious virtue throughout a kingdom, first ordered well their own states. Wishing to order well their states, they first regulated their families. Wishing to regulate their families, they first cultivated their persons....' (The Great Learning, Part I, Legge, 1971: 357)

In Confucian Analects, virtuousness is defined as loving people (The Analects, Book 12, Chapter 22, Soothill, 1995). In order to sustain a strong family system, virtuousness should be practised in each family first. In Confucian Analects, it states that: *'...Filial piety and fraternal submission—are they not the root of all benevolent*

actions?' (Confucian Analects, Book one, Chapter 2, Legge, 1971:138-141). This implies that loving family members is the foundation of virtuousness. Consequently, people should look after their family members first and then expand to unknown persons. If virtuousness is practised within the family, everyone should be looked after well within their families. It follows that the responsibility of government is to sustain family ability and strong family values so that families themselves look after their own family members. This is the essential 'Chinese' social welfare design. For government, the most important social welfare idea is to help families to become self sufficient units so that they can look after their own members. More specifically, the most important idea is called 'save wealth in people' (藏富於民). This means that government should help people to possess wealth and increase their financial resources. Once the family is wealthy, individual needs can be naturally met within the family. The responsibility of government is to construct a better social infrastructure and to develop better social, political and economic environments for people to accumulate their wealth rather than provide extensive social welfare measures to people directly.

In another Confucian source, Mencius answers a question from King Hui of Liang State about how to be a king of the commonwealth; he suggests that a true king should implement benevolent government towards people, reduce taxation, help people to farm and teach people to look after their family members as well as elders and superiors outside their family (Mencius, Book 1, part A, Chapter 5, Lau, 2004: 7-8). Again in Mencius, it states that king Hsuan of Chi asked Mencius how to govern a country properly and carry out benevolent governance. Mencius answers him that a true king should be virtuous and protect his people. And the practical and fundamental tasks are as follows:

'... If the mulberry is planted in every homestead of five acres of land, then those who are fifty can wear silk; if chickens, pigs and dogs do not miss their breeding season, then those who are seventy can eat meat; if each lot of a hundred acres is not deprived of labour during the busy season, then families with several mouths to feed will not go hungry. Exercise due care over the education provided by village schools, and reinforce this by teaching them duties proper to sons and younger brothers, and those whose heads have turned hoary will not be carrying loads on the roads. When the aged wear silk and eat meat and masses are neither cold nor hungry, it is impossible for their prince not to be a true King'. (Ibid, Book 1, part A, Chapter 7, Lau, 2004:14)

Again, the message here is that the most important task for government is to help families to become self-sustaining units to look after their own family members. Of course, this is an ideal. In practice, in ancient China, people never stopped struggling to survive because of natural disasters and social unrest. Ideal governance cannot always be implemented successfully. In Confucian Analects, Duke Ai inquired of Yu Jo about how to deal with the shortage of government revenue in a bad year with natural disasters. Yu Jo replied

'Why not simply tithe the land?' 'Why, with two-tenths,' said the Duke, 'I have still not enough, how could I manage with the one-tenth system?' 'If the people enjoy plenty,' was the rejoinder, 'with whom will the prince share want? But if the people are in want, with whom will the prince share plenty?' (The Analects, Book 12, Chapter 9, Crofts, 1995: 69)

The idea here is that once people are wealthy, government will become wealthy as well because government can then tax people more heavily. Government's wealth depends on the people's wealth. In order to maintain social order and a stable social environment, Confucianism also provides principles to avoid social unrest and ensure

prosperity. In Confucian Analects, Confucius said:

'...I have heard that the ruler of a Kingdom, or the chief of a household, is not concerned about his people being few, but about lack of equitable treatment; nor is he concerned over poverty, but over the presence of discontent; for where there is equity there is no poverty, where concord prevails there is no lack of people, and where contentment reigns there are no upheavals...' (The Analects, Book 16, Chapter 1, Crofts, 1995: 99-100)

Equitable treatment of people, a peaceful society and stable social order are the focus of Confucian concerns about the governance of a country. To this end Confucianism encourages governments to help families to accumulate wealth, rather than to raise taxes to provide extensive governmental social welfare measures.

In order to understand whether contemporary social welfare ideology in Taiwan is still affected by traditional Confucian ideas, Lin has recently used Esping-Andersen's (1990) ideas of 'welfare regime' (see Glossary). He added the idea of traditional Chinese benevolence to do research on social welfare ideology in Taiwan. His research was part of 'The General Survey of Social Attitudes in Taiwan' which was conducted by Sun, Yat-Sen Institute for Social Science and Philosophy of Academia Sinica in 1991 and 1992. Lin found that the idea of a 'social democratic welfare state' is supported by most Taiwanese, followed by ideas of a 'corporatist welfare state', then 'traditional Chinese charitable notions' and finally a 'liberal welfare state'. However, although most Taiwanese favour institutional and universal social welfare rights, Lin found that the Taiwanese still uphold the values of family obligation and stable social order. Also, unlike in Western industrialised countries, disadvantaged people and labourers in Taiwan do not have a collective sense or a wish to cooperate together to demand their rights for better social welfare. Lin argued, therefore, that it

is not appropriate to use Western welfare ideologies to understand Taiwanese social welfare development. Social welfare ideas in Taiwan are still deeply influenced by traditional charitable notions (Lin, 1994). In addition, 'The General Survey of Social Attitudes in Taiwan 1991', demonstrated that 39.2% Taiwanese regard the most important function of social welfare as helping poor people, 22.6% think equalising income distribution is the most important issue and 11.3% say decreasing social conflict is more important. The findings, in a sense, still reflect the influence of Confucianism on welfare ideas in Taiwan.

In Chinese society, social welfare provision basically relies on family. Once family fails to satisfy individual needs, mutual help from clan, neighbours and charitable help from individual or TSOs become complementary resources. Governmental welfare measures used to be the last security net. However, since Taiwanese scholars received Western social welfare academic training, many Western welfare concepts such as 'welfare state', 'welfare pluralism', 'welfare privatisation' and 'community care' have been introduced into Taiwan. These have also impacted on Taiwanese social policy since the 1980s. In the next part, the development of the Taiwanese social welfare regime within the past five decades is discussed. How TSOs in Taiwan have developed in the changing environment is also examined.

2.3 The development of the Taiwanese social welfare and TSOs after 1949

After Western social welfare and political ideas were introduced into Taiwan, the government has gradually been expected to take more responsibility for looking after people. Meanwhile, industrialisation and urbanisation accompanied by rapid economic growth have also changed some functions of the traditional Chinese family

and driven the family to seek more support beyond the traditional family system. Increasingly comprehensive social welfare measures have been expected and developed in Taiwanese society over the past five decades. Factors such as political, economic, social and demographic changes have affected the development of the Taiwanese social welfare regime. Different government policies have also been introduced at different times. Consequently, scholars have tried to divide the development of Taiwanese social welfare into distinct stages.

Using political economic analysis, Ku (1997) divided Taiwanese state welfare development into three periods from 1895 to 1990: 1895-1945, Japanese colonisation; 1945-1979, post-war Taiwan; and 1980-1990, Taiwan in transition. Lin (2000) identified three different periods based on the social welfare measures introduced: 1945-1972, social insurances were the main social measures; 1973-1980, when there were four main social welfare acts, including children, elderly people, disabled people social welfare acts and social assistance acts; and after 1980. Tsai (2002) followed the theory of modernisation and focused on social services. He suggested that the evolution of social welfare programmes in Taiwan can be divided into three different stages again. The first stage, 'welfare non-existence', ran from 1949 to the mid-1970s. The second stage might be called a stage of 'growing pains', which ran from the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s. The third stage he distinguishes is a stage of Maturation from the mid-1980s to present (Tsai, 2002, 372).

According to these scholars' categorisation, the development of social insurance, social assistance, and social service schemes appear to be the criteria for dividing social welfare development into periods in Taiwan. Social insurance, social assistance, and social service schemes seem to be the important components in the Taiwanese

social welfare regime. So for the purposes of this study, social welfare developments in Taiwan are divided into three periods: 1949-1979, a social welfare regime centred on social insurance; 1980-1990, a social welfare regime of expanding social insurance, improved social assistance and immature social services; and 1991-present, a social welfare regime of extensive social insurance, extensive social services and expansion of social assistance. These stages reflect demographic, political, economic and social changes in Taiwan.

As Seibel (1992) points out, the action of TSOs is embedded in social, political and economic environments. The action of TSOs is also affected by changes in environment. Thus, the following subsections also examine the nature of TSO activity in each of the three development periods identified.

2.3.1 1949-1979: Social insurances centred welfare regime

The first identified period of social welfare development is roughly from 1949 to 1979 in which the social welfare regime was mainly characterised by limited and essential social insurance based on occupations. Social services and social assistance mostly still relied on the family system and some limited TSO activity. Many factors such as national defence, equalising capital distribution, land reform and economic development were influential. On the one hand, Government maintained a strong military force to secure Taiwan from attack by Chinese Communist military. On the other hand, various economic reforms and rapid economic growth helped people to accumulate wealth and improve their life quality.

Tang points out that after 1949 national defence and internal stability were set by the

KMT government as two important goals to achieve (Tang, 2000: 66). Because of the high annual expenditure on national defence in this period, government did not have additional financial resources to develop social welfare schemes, especially social assistance and social services. Most social welfare schemes focused on social insurance. Social assistance and social services were only on a piecemeal base.

In the next sub-section, the political, economic and social conditions of this period are examined and how those factors have affected the development of Taiwanese social welfare is explained.

2.3.1.1 Political, economic and social environment 1949-1979

After the Second World War, Taiwan was returned to China from Japanese colonisation. In the following years, there was a civil war between the ruling party (KMT) and the Chinese Communist military. In 1949, the KMT government eventually lost the civil war to the Chinese Communist party and retreated from mainland China to the island of Taiwan. After the KMT government resettled in Taiwan, Taiwan was developed initially as a military and political base for the recovery of mainland China (Tien, 1992: 3). Military tension across the Taiwan Strait was high and there were occasional battles in the first few years. For example, on 23rd August 1958, Communist military tried unsuccessfully for 44 days to attack Kinmen, which is a small island between Taiwan and China. Although the Communist military did not succeed in capturing Taiwan, the KMT government maintained relatively high national defence expenditure in this period to ensure the security of Taiwan.

In order to protect Taiwanese security and maintain social order, the KMT government proclaimed Martial Law in Taiwan in 1949. Martial law not only upheld

social order but also brought some constraints such as limitations of the people's right to associate to rebel against government, to protest, or to publish Communist material. From then on, the KMT governed Taiwan for over 50 years until the year 2000 and played a significant role in the development of Taiwan.

In 1949, national defence expenditure accounted for nearly 90% of central government annual expenditures. Although the military situation in the Taiwan Strait improved in the late 1970s, expenditure on national defence was still around 47% of total central government expenditures in 1979 (Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, 2005b). Understandably, there was a 'crowding-out' effect on the development of social welfare in this period. In 1949, social welfare expenditure accounted for less than 2% of central government expenditures; it rose to just over 12% in 1979 (Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, 2005b). There were few statutory social welfare measures. Based on traditional Chinese social welfare ideas, the family was still considered to be essential to meeting individual needs.

In the 1950s, the Taiwanese government successfully launched land-reform which involved equalising land distribution and the reduction of land rent. Tenant-farmers' income and life was substantially improved. Government then started a series of industrial developments including expanding exports, and setting up business parks and export processing zones during the 1960s and 1970s (Council for Economic Planning and Development, 2005). A series of economic reforms brought Taiwan from an agricultural society to an industrialised society by the end of the 1970s. Under the planned economic development of the Taiwanese government, and in addition to the high economic growth rate, GNP per capital significantly increased

over the times from \$145 US dollars in 1951 to \$1,920 US dollars in 1979 (Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, 2005c) (see Appendix 3). The rapid economic growth not only improved people's life quality but also enabled accumulation of national capital to facilitate social welfare development.

2.3.1.2 Main social policy and social welfare ideology 1949-1979

Within this period, the most important policy guidelines of the Taiwanese government was the 'Three Principles of the People' (三民主義), including 'Principles of Nationalism', 'Principles of Democracy' and 'Principles of Livelihood', which was written by Dr. Sun, Yat-Sen². Social welfare ideas of this period were mainly based on the 'Principles of Livelihood' (民生主義), which was influenced by Confucianism as well as by socialism.

Sun defined people's livelihood as 'the livelihood of the people, the existence of the society, the welfare of the nation, and the life of the masses' and he pointed out that the Principle is one type of socialism (Sun, 1990:151). The Principles of Livelihood argued the case for using economic development to deal with people's life problems. Sun argued that in order to build an equalised wealthy state, government has not only to regulate large private capital and prevent extreme inequality between the rich and the poor, but also to develop some state industries and accumulate statutory capital for all people. If this worked, people could accumulate their own wealth and they could also share wealth within the state. The ultimate goal of the principle is to construct a harmonious and wealthy country (Sun, 1990:182-184); ideas which are similar to some ideas of Confucianism.

² Dr S un, Yat-sen is referred to as the 'father of the Republic of China'. He overthrew the Qing Dynasty in 1911. He also established the Nationalist Party (KMT).

Based on the Principles of Livelihood, the KMT government issued some important social policy guidelines, such as 'Contemporary Social Policy of People's Livelihood' in 1965 and 'The Principles of Contemporary Social Construction' in 1968 (Chen, 1987; Liu, 1984). In 'Contemporary Social Policy Principles of People's Livelihood', which some academics argued, was the most important social policy in this period (Ku, 1997), it was stated that according to the Principles of Livelihood and in order to balance economic and social development, government needs to construct a social security system to promote people's welfare. The principles involved the outlines of social insurance, public employment, social assistance, public housing, social service, social education and community development. They became the fundamental guidelines of the Taiwanese social welfare regime afterwards (Ku, 1997). In practice, however the principles were not implemented as specific social welfare schemes in this period apart from some social insurance and child welfare act (Chen, 1987:93-96).

2.3.1.3 Important social welfare legislations and measures 1949-1979

Social insurance was the major form of social welfare scheme in this period. The first social insurance act, Military Servicemen's Insurance Act, was enacted in 1953 followed by the Labour Insurance Act and the Government Employee's Insurance Act in 1958. In 1965, government expanded the coverage of social insurance to retired government employees.

The development of social insurance in this period can be understood from two perspectives. First, social insurance was not purely a consumption social welfare

scheme. The insured people also had to contribute, so government did not pay all the expenses. Second, social insurance contributed to the health of the labour force and hence to economic development. O'Connor calls this kind of social policy 'social investment' (O'Connor, 1973). Social insurance also provided advantages for the Taiwanese government in terms of its budget and its economic development aims.

The only social service act in this period was the 'Children Welfare Act', which was issued in 1973. According to the act, family and parents still had prime responsibility to look after children and government would only intervene in child welfare when children were in emergency situations such as being orphans. Social assistance was also provided but on a piecemeal scale. In the 1970s, the Taiwanese provincial government launched the Shao-Kang (fairly prosperous) scheme in 1972 and Taipei city government issued the An-Kang (health and wealth) scheme in 1973 to fight poverty by providing vocational training, short-term loans for the self employed and residential care for poor and disabled people (Chan, 1985: 327). Government still fundamentally expected that people could deal with their poverty problems by themselves. Very few people received social assistance from government. Basically, government still regarded the family as the basic unit for social welfare provision.

2.3.1.4 Third sector organisations 1949-1979

Thus social welfare provision was largely family dependant in this period. The concept of family obligation to meet individual needs was still very strong. TSOs provided residual and complementary services in relation to government social welfare services (Chan, 1985:334). Many of the well-established TSOs were closely associated with religious faiths (such as Buddhism and Christianity) and depended on

them for financial support. For example, the Chinese Children Fund (CCF) was set up in 1950 to run institutions for children and to provide financial aid to poor children and their families. CCF was mainly sponsored by a Christian denomination. Also Taiwan received US aid until the 1960s, and there were some foreign charitable organisations undertaking social services in Taiwan. They gradually introduced modern social work knowledge into Taiwan as well. But after the 1960s, Taiwan's economic growth was rapid, more and more local TSOs were established, and they gradually shared with government responsibility for providing social services.

In this period, people could only establish membership associations legally with permission from government and subsequent supervision by government. According to the 'Civil Association Act' (Department of Social Affairs, 2006b), they had to report to the government periodically. Although TSOs existed and were encouraged by government to participate in social service provision during this period, they could only play a residual or subordinate role and operate in accord with the government's policy.

Therefore, before the 1980s, TSOs in Taiwan were not flourishing and they played only a restricted and supplemental role in social service provision. The relationship between government and TSOs was mainly based on official supervision under the 'Civil Association Act'. The situation gradually changed in the 1980s accompanying political reforms.

2.3.2 1980-1990: Welfare regime of expanding social insurance, improved social assistance and immature social services

In this period the Taiwanese economy continued to flourish. However, political

campaigns and social movements to challenge the one party dominant political regime were significant. Social welfare issues were used by political reformists as examples of government failure and gradually became political issues. The welfare regime itself was characterised by expanding social insurance, improved social assistance and provision of more social services. The development of social welfare was triggered by a series of political reforms, continuous economic growth and social changes. In addition, TSOs increasingly grew in number after the abolition of Martial Law. Government also encouraged TSOs to become involved in social service provision.

2.3.2.1 Political, economic and social environment 1980-1990

From the mid-1970s militant protests were held to challenge the KMT political regime (Tien, 1992). The challenge continued and expanded rapidly in the 1980s—a turbulent decade for Taiwan. In order to push the KMT to undertake political reforms, some political reformists began to use street demonstrations and campaigns covering political issues and other social issues (Tsai, 2002: 369). Social movements working for the abolition of Martial Law, parliamentary reform, environment protection, rights protection for varied disadvantaged groups and the promotion of social welfare, challenged the legitimacy of the one-party political regime and tried to force government to tackle the problems.

Under long term governance by the KMT since 1949, the Taiwanese political regime had formed a one party government. Although the KMT did not really act as a tyrant authority and actually it continuously developed high economic growth to improve people's life quality in Taiwan, it possessed many features which enabled it to maintain political power. For example, in the Legislative Yuan, which is the highest

legislative institution with members elected by the people, most representatives were KMT members or supporters. Many representatives, who were elected in mainland China before 1949, came to Taiwan with the KMT government and became permanent in the parliament. The government kept those 'old MPs' titles to enable it to argue that ROC (Republic of China) was still the legitimate government to represent the whole of mainland China. Those 'old MPs' were the majority in the parliament and their support enabled the KMT to sustain its political regime (Tien, 1992:7-8). However, after a series of protests, the old MPs eventually retired in 1991 (The Legislative Yuan, 2006).

In addition, the KMT government also used Martial Law to not only maintain social order but also to prevent the growth of political opposition. Although there was more than one political party (apart from the KMT) in Taiwan, most of the parties did not oppose the KMT regime. Dissenting views were suppressed. Some people who were not KMT members or supporters became dissatisfied with one-party state politics. Eventually, those people organised the first opposition political party (Democratic Progress Party or DPP) in 1986. The next year, the KMT government lifted Martial law which had existed in Taiwan for 38 years. The abolition of Martial Law was the most important achievement of political reform in this period. It was also the prelude to a series of further political reforms including parliament reform and direct election to the presidency.

The abolition of Martial Law not only provided a public realm for people to associate together freely but also caused more and more people to use social movements to express their demands. According to the statistics (Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, 2005d), demonstrations increased from 538 in 1986 to

7,775 in 1990, and most of the demonstrations were about political issues rather than social or economic issues. Some political reformists also started to cooperate with some TSOs to campaign for better social welfare. Social welfare issues gradually became political issues.

Cooperation between political reformists and some TSOs was a key driver for welfare development in this period. Some political reformists used failure in social welfare to challenge the legitimacy of the KMT government. In their turn, some TSOs joined forces with political reformists to achieve their own organisational goals (Lin, 2000). This cooperation drove the government to develop more social welfare measures to respond to the demands of those TSOs. Lin (2000) pointed out that the DPP was deeply involved in social protests for social welfare in the 1980s and pushed government to respond to social welfare issues. In practice, improvements in social welfare were not the main goal of the DPP; it was more a means to develop their political reputation and to overturn the ruling party. All the same, social welfare provision did improve at this time.

The most salient success of the political reforms in this period was that Taiwan was transformed from a one-party state regime to a real liberal democratic country without any military revolution. At the same time, economic development did not regress during this period. Taiwan still sustained an average annual economic growth rate of over 8% (Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, 2005d). The economic development strategy was moving from labour-intensive industry to technology-intensive industry. Accompanying political liberalisation, economic liberalisation and internationalisation were also introduced into Taiwanese economic plans in the 1980s. Government gradually privatised the state-owned enterprises and

encouraged foreign companies to invest in Taiwan by reducing tax (Council for Economic planning and Development, 2005).

Meanwhile, more and more women participated in the labour market. The female labour participation rate increased from 38.76% in 1981 to 44.50% in 1990 (Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, 2006), raising questions about their traditional role as family carers. In addition, average household size decreased from 4.76 persons in 1980 to 4 persons in 1990 (Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, 2005e), reflecting an increase in nuclear and single-parent families. According to the statistics, the divorce rate also increased from 4.2% in 1981 to 6.3% in 1990 (Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, 2005d).

Traditional functions of Taiwanese families were clearly facing important challenges in this period. As families became less able to take the whole responsibility for their members, people began to expect government to provide more social welfare measures to meet individual and family needs. There were four relevant Acts in this period: 'Welfare Act for Elderly People', 'Welfare Act for Disabled people', 'Social Assistance Act' and 'Welfare Act for Youth'. This expansion of social services and other social welfare schemes was gradually reflected in social welfare expenditure. Expenditure on social welfare (including social insurance, social assistance, social service, employment and health) accounted for 3.9% of total national expenditure in 1981 and increased to 8.8% in 1990 (Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, 2005d).

Although government increased expenditure on social welfare provision and issued

some social welfare Acts, the development of social welfare did not expand dramatically in this period. Social policy and welfare ideology were still based officially on the 'Principles of Livelihood'. However, the ideas of liberalisation had gradually started to influence Taiwanese social policy.

2.3.2.2 Main social policy and social welfare ideology 1980-1990

Basically, there were no new principles of social policy developed in this period. 'Contemporary Social Policy of People's Livelihood' was still the main guideline for Taiwanese social welfare development in this stage (Tsai, 2005). However, under the influence of the ideas of liberalisation and democratisation, and as more and more scholars who had received PhDs from the USA and the UK came back to Taiwan, the concepts of 'welfare pluralism' and 'welfare privatisation' were introduced into Taiwanese society in the late 1980s (Sun, 1989; Lin, 1987). These latter ideas and traditional Chinese welfare ideas have something in common: that government does not need to be the only social welfare provider. Therefore, the Taiwanese government was inclined to be interested in them. Welfare privatisation was rapidly accepted as an important social policy approach. Government issued 'Guidelines for Undertaking Social Welfare Privatisation' in 1997 as an important policy to develop welfare privatisation in Taiwan (Lin, 1999).

Meanwhile, the strategy of involving TSOs in social service delivery was not changed. Government issued principles to encourage TSOs to provide social services in this period. For example, in 1983, the Ministry of the Interior issued the 'Plan of Reinforcing Associating Social Resource to Provide Social Welfare Services'. This plan asserted that it was a leading principle for government to cooperate with TSOs to

provide social services to meet people's basic needs. However, in the plan, there were no substantial or practical proposals for implementing the plan. Cooperation between government and TSOs to provide social services was restricted to just a few projects. In 1989, the Ministry of the Interior issued the 'Social Welfare Services Subsidy Regulations' (Department of social affairs, Ministry of Interior, 2005a), which are comprehensive guides to TSOs for applying for central government funding (the major funding from government for TSOs) to provide social services. In the regulations, it lists the service items eligible for funding and the requirements for applying for funding. That government institutionally funds TSOs to provide social services became a formal social policy approach from then on. In effect, the regulations provided a supportive platform on which the government and TSOs could work together and essentially they brought the relationship between government and TSOs into a new era. The regulations did affect the way of social service delivery in Taiwan. More and more TSOs were funded by government to provide social services.

2.3.2.3 Important social welfare legislations and measures 1980-1990

In this period, government gradually included more groups of people into social insurance schemes. In 1982, government issued a Health Insurance Act for Government Employees' Dependents. A Health Insurance Act for Farmers was issued in 1989 and Health Insurance for Low Income Households in 1990. In order to protect labour's rights and maintain low unemployment, government also issued the Labour Standard Act in 1984 and a Vocational Training Act in 1983.

Apart from expanding the coverage of social insurance, other social measures were that government enacted the 'Welfare Act for Elderly People', the 'Welfare Act for

Disabled People' and the 'Social Assistance Act' in 1980, and the 'Youth Welfare Act' in 1989 (see Appendix 4). However, Chan (1985) says that it could be argued that the enactment of social welfare laws at this time occurred to relieve political pressure rather than to meet perceived social welfare needs. Certainly, the Acts benefited only limited numbers. For example, the 'Welfare Act for Elderly People' defined that people of 70 years and over are qualified to receive benefits but life expectancy was 69.7 years for males and 74.6 years for females in 1981 (Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, 2005d). Regarding the 'Welfare Act for Disabled People', it only included some physically disabled people, and many other types of disabled people were excluded. Social services provision by government was still rudimentary. The Taiwanese social welfare regime was transforming from being social insurance centred to initiating some social services and improving social assistance. This development and the ideas of welfare privatisation led TSOs to participate increasingly in social services provision and to expand dramatically in the next period.

2.3.2.4 Third sector organisations 1980-1990

The number of TSOs gradually increased in this period. After the abolition of Martial Law in 1987, government provided a more free social space for people to establish TSOs. Cooperation between government and TSOs in social service provision was increasing.

In 1987, the government abolished Martial Law, and Taiwan entered into a real democratic era. Government amended the Civil Association Act (the initial name was 'Civil Association Act in the Martial Law time'), and allowed people to freely

associate. A very important amendment of the Civil Association Act was that civil associations with the same service aims and users were permitted to establish themselves in the same area. From then on, the number of TSOs increased significantly. Membership associations (including occupational and social associations) increased from 8,326 in 1980 to 13,836 in 1990. Furthermore, with encouragement from governmental policy, TSOs gradually played an important role in social services provision, and some even played an advocate role and organised social protests. The traditional subordinate role of TSOs to government in social service provision started changing gradually.

Some pro-active TSOs not only campaigned about insufficient provision of various social services but also put political pressure on government to improve social services. For example, parents of children with learning disabilities established an association in 1984 and campaigned for their children who had been excluded until then from the education system. They asked for an amendment to the 'Special Education Act' for disabled children. Afterwards, they associated with similar organisations in other counties or cities, cooperated with members of parliament and organised street demonstrations to continuously push government to improve the welfare of their children (Hsiao and Sun, 2000).

Although the social movements organised by those organisations did affect public policy, they also gave people an impression of causing social disorder. Thus, some new TSOs established with advocacy aims in the 1990s transformed their advocate role into a service provider role under the pressure of social expectations. All the same, efforts from many TSOs in this period did drive government to give much more attention to social welfare issues. The situation continuously developed in the 1990s

and triggered government to develop the social welfare regime comprehensively.

2.3.3 1991-present: Welfare regime of extensive social insurance, extensive social services and expansion of social assistance

In the period since 1991, the Taiwanese social welfare regime has been distinguished by comprehensive social insurance, national health insurance, expansion of social assistance and extensive social services. The 1990s have even been called the 'Golden decade' of Taiwanese social welfare development (Department of Social Affairs, 2005c). Social welfare expenditure increased dramatically as well. The development was triggered by political competition between the KMT and the DPP (Aspalter, 2002; Lin, 2005) and also driven by continuous campaigns from some TSOs (Lin, 2005). Numbers of TSOs increased dramatically in this period, especially social associations providing various social services. Cooperation between government and TSOs was transformed from fragmentary to 'institutional' cooperation-as will be shown in the following pages. In addition, some active TSOs associated together in alliances to mobilise resources to try to affect public policy. This was a new phenomenon of TSO activity which developed in this period.

2.3.3.1 Political, economic and social environment 1991 onwards

Towards the end of the 1980s, the DPP realised that street demonstrations could not be their long term strategy to overturn the KMT government (Lin, 2000:109) and gradually changed their strategy from street demonstrations to participation in general and local elections. The DPP started using proposals for social welfare schemes as a means to attract more people to support them and try to win elections. For example, in the 1993 local election, the DPP first introduced the idea of a welfare state into the

election campaign (Democratic Progress Party, 1993) and claimed that they would provide an allowance every month to all elderly people of 65 and over if they won the election (Wang, 2003:108). In response, the KMT criticised the DPP's proposal and suggested that low income elderly people should receive the allowance rather than all elderly people, arguing that government could not afford the allowance for all elderly people.

In 1993, the DPP successfully won 6 mayors out of 23 counties and cities; an important political achievement for the DPP after they established their party. In practice, some counties or cities ruled by the DPP could only provide the allowance for a couple of months because of the shortage of financial resources. All the same, the DPP gradually established a positive image in providing social welfare for people. They even won 11 mayor positions in the local election in 1997. Consequently, welfare issues began to be an important part of the political competition between the DPP and the KMT. This situation also forced the KMT to explain their welfare policy in general and local elections. They even undertook more social welfare schemes at the national level while still emphasising the importance of economic growth.

Lin (2000) argues that after the DPP acquired more political resources, the redistribution of political resources between the KMT and the DPP explains the development of social welfare in the 1990s in Taiwan; competition between political parties, he says, drove the development of social welfare. The Taiwanese government developed extensive social welfare schemes and the whole welfare regime proceeded to a relatively comprehensive stage during the 1990s.

In 2000, the DPP won the presidency election and the 50 year governance of the KMT

in Taiwan come to an end. The DPP also won the second presidency election in 2004. However, ironically, their welfare ideas did not remain consistent. Due to a series of controversies over financial predicaments, the DPP Government gradually abandoned their earlier generous ideas on social welfare (Ku, 2004:314). In fact, differences between the DPP and the KMT about social welfare policy became less and less clear although Lin (2000) argues that the DPP had rather more interest than the KMT in caring for disadvantaged people. Wang (1998) argues that the two parties have a basically similar approach. They both see social welfare as appropriately the benevolent policy of government, and both parties moralise about family duty in welfare based on ideas of paternalism.

Influenced by competition between political parties on social welfare issues, social welfare expenditure also grew rapidly during the 1990s. Social welfare expenditure increased from 117.8 billions new Taiwanese dollars (approximately 3.6 billions US\$ in 2007) in 1991 to 531.8 billions (approximately 16 billions US\$ in 2007) in 2000. Within 10 years, social welfare expenditure increased more than four times (see Appendix 5) (Director-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, 2005d). However, the situation did not continue into the twenty first century and after the DPP became the ruling party. Social welfare expenditure decreased to 345.1 billions (approximately 10.5 billions US\$ in 2007) in 2003. The DPP government realised that comprehensive social welfare provision was dependent on continued economic prosperity. Regarding the economic and social situation, even though GDP per capita continuously increased, the growth of the economy in the 21st century was not as great as before. Economic problems became worse after the DPP became the ruling party in 2000. The unemployment rate increased significantly. Families now face more severe

challenges than before such as the aging population, foreign marriage³ (Pan, 2004; Sheu, 2007) and high divorce rate. The government launched more social welfare schemes to respond to these social problems.

After the DPP became the ruling party, economic growth began decreasing significantly. In the 1990s, even though economic growth was not as great as before, it was still over 6% p.a. on average. After the DPP had governed Taiwan for only one year, the economic growth rate became -2.2% in 2001 (Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, 2005d). This was the first time the economic growth rate was negative in Taiwan in 40 years.

In addition to economic problems, some serious social issues emerged as well. First, elderly people who are 65 or over accounted for 7.1% of the total population in 1993 and Taiwan has been an ageing society since then. At the end of 2004, elderly people increased to 9.5% of the whole population (see Appendix 6) (Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, 2005d). Second, the types of family in Taiwan have become more varied in their composition. For example, more and more Taiwanese have married with foreigners; a new social phenomenon in Taiwan. According to the statistics, by the end of 2006, there were 383,204 'foreign brides' in Taiwan. Between 2001 and 2005, one out of 4 marriages was between a Taiwanese man and a foreign bride (Department of Statistics, Ministry of Interior, 2007). Such couples infuse new spirit into Taiwanese society but they have also driven the Taiwanese government to develop social services for them to deal with their problems

³ During the last decade, more than 300,000 foreign women (including women from Southeast Asia and Mainland China) married with Taiwanese men and most of them are working class. Those families face a lot of challenges e.g. children's education, health care, domestic violence, and social exclusion.

such as family education, cultural adjustment, social exclusion and language. Besides foreign marriages, the growing divorce rate, women's labour market participation and the decrease in the birth rate are all pushing government to provide more supportive social services to families. The government consequently issued a family policy in 2004 to respond to increasingly complicated family issues (Department of Social Affairs, 2005b).

From the 1990s up to now, Taiwan has established a comprehensive welfare regime and has continuously developed new services to respond to new social problems. How to maintain this welfare regime will be the essential issue for the Taiwanese government in the future.

2.3.3.2 Main social policy and social welfare ideology 1991 onwards

After the 'Contemporary Social Policy of People's Livelihood' was issued in 1965, the Taiwanese government did not publish any other official social policy until 1994. In 1994, the Executive Yuan published the second official social policy document, 'The Guiding Principles of Social Welfare Policy', which was amended in 2004. This policy states that the aims of social welfare policy in Taiwan are to protect people's basic livelihood, stabilise family harmony, strengthen mutual help and solidarity, promote the quality of human resources, accumulate economic capital and develop stable democratic politics. It includes almost all social, economic and political issues in the policy. Importantly, it states that partnerships between central and local governments and between the public and non-governmental sectors (with special reference to TSOs) should be established, and that government should encourage the nongovernmental sector to provide what they can in social affairs (Department of

Social Affairs, Ministry of Interior, 2005c). This was the first time that government has asserted in social policy that government wants to build a 'partnership' with the nongovernmental sector in Taiwan.

The Annual Report of Social Administration 2004 (Department of Social Affairs, Ministry of Interior, 2005b), declared that in the developing process of social welfare, the role of government is to decide policy direction, promote administrative efficiency, clarify people's needs and problems, draw the resources of the non-governmental sector into the public sector and construct service provision networks and evaluation systems. The official report still reflects some traditional Chinese social welfare ideas; that government is not willing to play the role of direct provider and wishes to reduce its financial load as much as possible.

In 1997, the Ministry of Interior Affairs issued 'Guidelines for Undertaking Social Welfare Privatisation'. It states that government is launching the guidelines in order to draw in non-governmental resources and delegate to TSOs the provision of social services, mainly through contracting. In short, inviting TSOs to participate in the social service provision system has become an official and operational approach to social policy in Taiwan.

Besides this, as mentioned above (section 2.3.3.1), the Taiwanese government launched its 'Family Policy' in 2004 to deal with the increasing challenges of contemporary family life in Taiwan (Department of Social Affairs, Ministry of Interior, 2005b). The family policy proclaims that the goals of the policy are to support family values rather than intervene without limit into family affairs. The policy reflects the idea that family stability is still the foundation of national and social prosperity.

Therefore, the policy is not only to sustain the traditional family stability but also to deal with the impacts which come from social, economic and cultural changes on families. It proposes approaches to protect family economic security, promote gender equality, support family care ability, and increase social inclusion of different types of family.

In this period, apart from traditional Chinese welfare ideas, welfare privatisation and welfare pluralism have deeply influenced Taiwanese welfare development.

2.3.3.3 Important social welfare legislations and measures 1991 onwards

Apart from amending existing social welfare acts such as the Children Welfare Act, the Youth Welfare Act, the Social Assistance Act and the Welfare Act for Elderly People, the Taiwanese government also launched new welfare acts in this period. In relation to social services, the coverage expanded from children, elderly people, disabled people and poor people, to include also women's rights and services. Gender issues were considered in the welfare acts. In addition, social allowances were offered to disadvantaged groups. Government also issued legislation to encourage professional standards in social work.

The 'Children & Youth Sexual Transaction Prevention Act' was issued in 1995 and the 'Sexual Assault Prevention Act' and 'Domestic Violence Prevention Act' were promulgated in 1997 and 1998 respectively in response to the increasing known occurrence of sexual assault and domestic violence in Taiwan. In order to protect low-income disabled people's financial security, the Taiwanese government enacted the 'Act of Allowance for Low Income Disabled People' in 1993. The 'Social

Workers Act' was enacted in 1997 to promote the quality of professional social work, and the 'Volunteers Act' was launched in 2001 to encourage people to participate in volunteering and to protect their security and rights when they are doing voluntary work.

However, the most remarkable achievement of the Taiwanese social welfare regime in this period was that government launched 'National Health Insurance' (NHI) in 1994, the first universal social insurance scheme. The national pension regime was also developed to protect people's income security in old age. It seems that the Taiwanese welfare regime has entered a mature stage.

2.3.3.4 Third sector organisations 1991 onwards

The growth of TSOs in this period was even faster than in the 1980s. The quantity of occupational and social associations increased from 14,657 in 1991 to 33,935 in 2004 (Department of Statistics, Ministry of Interior, 2005). With the encouragement of governmental policy, TSOs became more involved in social service provision. Welfare privatisation was the essential policy approach and TSOs became more and more important in social service provision and in Taiwanese social policy generally.

In addition, some TSOs came together to form alliances and positioned themselves as advocacy groups. They started to formally 'lobby' members of parliament and to campaign on social welfare issues for different groups such as children, disabled and elderly people. For example, the alliance of elderly welfare groups was established in 1993. The initial aim of their establishment was to affect the amendment of the Welfare Act for Elderly People and promote the welfare of elderly people. They

brought together political and TSO resources and successfully led the direction of the amendment (Wang, 2000: 257-307). These alliances found a new way to interact with government and to affect social policy and legislation.

For many TSOs, social services provision has become an increasingly important part of their activities. Especially since government issued the 'Social Welfare Services Subsidy Regulations', TSOs have played an increasingly important role in social service provision. According to the annual report of social administration in 2004, (Department of Social Affairs, Ministry of Interior, 2005b), from 1989 to 2004, central government gave more than 86.1 billion new Taiwanese dollars (approximately 2.6 billions US\$ in 2007) to fund more than 56,000 different social service programmes delivered by TSOs.

2.4 Emergin g topics for further study

The discussion in this chapter so far on the ideology, characteristics and development of the Taiwanese social welfare regime and TSOs, raises some important points for further research.

1. Any society has its own distinctive social ideology. In many Western countries, Christian or Catholic doctrines appear to be dominant. In Middle-East countries, Islamic traditions are influential. However, in Chinese societies, Confucianism is still a prevailing ideology which guides individual behaviour and affects many social institutions. The literature shows the influence of Confucianism on the development of the Taiwanese social welfare regime and on the establishment and operation of TSOs. Thus, the impact of Confucianism on the formation and

operation of TSOs in Taiwan becomes an important point to take into account.

2. As in many Western welfare states, TSOs in Taiwan play an increasingly important role in social service provision. The rapid growth in the number of TSOs occurred in a specific period of Taiwanese social welfare development. As Hall (1987) has suggested, the emergence of TSOs is generally affected by a particular combination of ideological, political, social and economic conditions. TSOs, he argues, appear to be 'institutionalised'⁴ by their environments and respond to the demands from their environments. Thus a second emergent research point is to understand why TSOs in Taiwan grew so dramatically after 1990.
3. There appears to be a link between the growth of TSOs in Taiwan and changes in social policy and other contextual factors such as economic conditions. Thus a third point for further study is the role of TSOs in the context of the social welfare environment of Taiwan.
4. The relationship between the Taiwanese government and TSOs has clearly changed dramatically as the social welfare context has changed. A final point for further research, then, is to understand what factors affect their interaction.

In order to study these topics further, the researcher has reviewed existing relevant theories and literature. In the next chapter this review is presented and a conceptual framework for the current study is developed.

⁴ Institution means a social order, pattern or regulations which has attained a certain state and is repetitively produced. When an object takes the institution for granted and is rewarded by following the institution, it means the object is institutionalised (Jepperson, 1991).

Chapter Three

Theoretical Discussion on Studies of Third Sector Organisations and the Conceptual Approach to this Study

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a review of existing theories and of the literature related to the topics which were raised at the end of Chapter Two, including why TSOs emerge and grow in a country, how TSOs position their role(s), how they interact with government and how historical tradition, ideology and institutional environments affect their formation and operation. This review, which is set out in the first Part and the second Part of the chapter, not only provides understanding of those issues which have been studied in Western countries and Taiwan so far, but also points out the knowledge gap left to be bridged. After the theoretical review, in the third Part, the research questions and conceptual approach to this study are proposed. Therefore, this chapter falls into three main parts.

In the first Part of this chapter (section 3.2), relevant literature on theories and studies of TSOs are examined to understand what kind of findings have been found so far. Issues of TSOs have been paid a lot of attention by Western scholars in the past three decades and many theories have been developed to explain the global phenomenon of 'associational revolution' (Salamon, 1994) throughout many countries. In fact, most of the theories respond to two important phenomena in different countries: the crises of welfare states (Evers, 1993) in many Western developed or industrialised countries; and the demand for political democracy in countries of Eastern Europe, Latin American and elsewhere (Salamon, Anheier and Associates, 1999). Within these two streams of literature, studies on the role of TSOs and their interaction with

government have also generated useful findings.

The second part of this chapter (section 3.3) reviews studies of TSOs in Taiwan and demonstrates the knowledge gap that needs to be filled. Taiwanese academics have done some research on the issues of TSOs as well. However, many of them (e.g. Hsiao, 1990; Ku, 1999; Leu and Kuo, 2003) adopted Western concepts or theories with little or no adjustment to the Taiwanese social context. And very few of the studies developed theories grounded in the Taiwanese social welfare context. Therefore, the rapid growth of TSOs in Taiwan and their expanding involvement in social service provision, their role(s) and their operation and their interaction with government have not been fully understood.

In the third part of this chapter (section 3.4), research questions are raised and a conceptual approach to this study based on 'new institutional theory' is proposed. Within a country, TSOs usually have varied types, size, clientele and ability. However, many academics treat TSOs as an integrated concept (such as a sector). The heterogeneity of TSOs is simplified or ignored and the variety of TSOs is overlooked. In addition, the institutional environments within which TSOs exist in a country were not really taken into account. As Hall has suggested, '*non-profit organisations exist under a particular combination of ideological, political, social and economic conditions*' (Hall, 1987:3), and different countries possess different institutional environments for TSOs. The existence and growth of TSOs rests on their unique institutional contexts. Institutional environments should not be ignored in the study of third sector organisations. This conceptual approach will be the guide to this research.

3.2 Theories and studies of TSOs

3.2.1 Approaches to understanding the growth of Third Sector Organisations

The growth of TSOs in different countries is rooted in different combinations of institutional environments and TSOs also function in different ways to respond to different social situations. In many Western developed countries such as the UK, TSOs re-emerged mainly to provide social services to relieve the crises of welfare states. However, in former totalitarian countries such as the former Soviet Union countries of Eastern Europe, TSOs were often a driving force in campaigns for political democracy. Academics from different disciplines focus on different aspects of TSOs and have developed various theories to explain the emergence and growth of TSOs. Two major approaches to explaining the growth of TSOs can be distinguished: a social service provision approach and a civil society revival approach. In the following two sub-sections, the two different approaches, which are related to the explanation of the growth of TSOs, are discussed.

3.2.1.1 The social service provision approach

Involvement of TSOs in social service provision has existed in Western industrialised countries for a long time. In fact, TSOs have played different roles in different development stages in a country and some theories were developed to explain the position of TSOs in the social service system in the early twentieth century. For example, in the UK, Sidney and Beatrice Webb used 'the parallel bars' theory to show that voluntary organisations may have their own service users as the state has its own (Brenton, 1985: 16-17). This theory implies that both government and voluntary

organisations possess different strengths and can serve different clienteles with different needs. In addition, the Webbs proposed another theory, 'extension ladder' theory, to highlight the division of labour between state and voluntary organisations (Brenton: 17). This theory suggests that the state should provide minimum service and voluntary organisations can top it up. Before the establishment of welfare states in Western industrialised countries, TSOs actually played an important role in social service provision. Theories of complementarity and supplementarity help to explain the roles of TSOs in that age. However, since the age of the 'welfare state' which started in the middle of the 1940s in the UK, government has played the leading role in social welfare provision. Therefore, issues of TSOs did not attract too much academic attention during the period between the 1940s and the 1980s. Research interest in TSOs re-emerged once Western welfare states started to encounter crises in the late 1970s.

After World War Two, Western industrialised countries created welfare states to meet citizens' welfare needs. 'Welfare states' aimed to provide comprehensive social welfare instead of piecemeal or partial social welfare provision. However, the increasingly extended social welfare generated crises in the 1970s in terms of finance, economics, legitimacy and bureaucracy. Furthermore, the oil crisis in the 1970s caused a sharp economic recession in many countries. The legitimacy of modern welfare states was challenged by both right wing (e.g. Green, 1987) and left wing commentators (e.g. Gough, 1979; O'Conner, 1973; Offe, 2000). Welfare states began to retrench the welfare budget and tried to roll back the direct role of government in social service provision. Finding alternative service providers became an essential task for many welfare states

Scholars and policy-makers started to reconsider the division of welfare provision and propose different ideas such as the 'new political economy' (Smith, 1975), 'the mixed economy of welfare' (Ben-Ner and Van Hoomissen, 1993; Kamerman, 1983:5-11) and 'welfare pluralism' (Brenton, 1985:154-174; Evers, 1993; Johnson, 1987; Wolfendon, 1978) to try to deal with the problems which were generated by the welfare state. Their ideas shared a common proposal -- that government should not be the only provider in the welfare provision system. The conception of pluralistic welfare providers became a very important policy approach from then on.

In the transformation of welfare states, the advantages and strengths of TSOs in social service provision were politically and strategically rediscovered by governments. Cooperation, using grants and contracts from government to TSOs, has increasingly developed. Governments gradually withdrew from the role of direct service provider to financial provider, service purchaser and regulator; a role described by Salamon (1995) as 'third-party government'. At the same time, TSOs were increasingly involved in social services provision. In more and more cases, TSOs were 'hired' by government contracts to deal with social problems. They became involved in more and more public services which were formerly provided by government (Smith and Lipsky, 1993). Wolch (1990) described TSOs in the US and the UK as a 'shadow state'. How to maintain social welfare provision without increasing government budgets has become a major concern of Western industrialised countries.

Many theories which revolve around the ideas of economic reason and the division of labour between government and TSOs have been developed in response to the crises of welfare states. Some theories discuss the growth and emergence of TSOs in a country and these are set out in the following paragraphs. They are: government

failure; market failure; subsidy; and social origins.

Government failure theory:

According to Weisbrod's theory, the emergence of TSOs can be explained by 'state failure' (Weisbrod, 1977). He argues that government tends to provide collective goods for the demands of the median voters, but fails to satisfy other considerable needs of citizens, especially those of marginal groups. However, TSOs are more flexible and responsive to people's needs and they do not need to please the majority of citizens. As a result, TSOs arise to meet people's unmet demands, especially residual demand which cannot be met by welfare provision from the state.

Hansmann argues that Weisbrod's theory cannot explain why non-profit organisations rather than commercial enterprises come to fill the service gap left by government (Hansmann, 1987). Nor does the theory discuss the provision of private goods by non-profit organisations (Badelt, 1990).

Market failure theory:

In a free market, the price of a product is determined by supply and demand. However, the resources are usually controlled by producers. Customers can only purchase what the market produces, if the choice is limited. In addition, customers do not always have enough information to evaluate the quality of products and services. Hence, commercial firms play a more dominant role than customers in service provision. Hansman (1980) describes this situation as 'contract failure' to place particular emphasis on the information asymmetries between producers and consumers. Under this condition, customers prefer to purchase products from TSOs rather than from commercial firms because they believe TSOs are more trustworthy than for-profit

business. This is what Hansmann termed 'market failure'. Based on the feature of their non-distribution constraint, TSOs do not reduce the quality of their products or services to make more profit.

But why does government not take the responsibility to provide reliable services when market is a failure? In addition, the theory of market failure cannot explain why governments want to contract out public services to non-profit organisations rather than provide them themselves when the market fails to satisfy customers' needs (Smith and Lipsky, 1993: 28).

Subsidy theory:

In many countries, TSOs are entitled to tax privileges and to receive funding or subsidy from government in recognition of their charitable aims and their non-profit seeking aims. Subsidies may be an incentive to encourage the general development of TSOs or in the development of a special service area (Hansmann, 1987: 33). In many Western welfare states, for example the UK and the USA, government funding has increasingly become an important source of income for TSOs (Leat, 1995; Smith and Lipsky, 1993). For many TSOs, their expansion is really affected by government funding. The independence or autonomy of TSOs has been also considered as an important issue when TSOs receive more and more governmental funding (Salamon, 1995; Smith and Lipsky, 1993).

However, subsidy does not explain why governments prefer to fund TSOs to provide services rather than supply services themselves. At the same time, it implies that government is somehow unwilling to provide social services.

Social origins theory:

Based on data from the Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project, Salamon and Anheier (1998) have developed a theoretical approach of 'social origins' to explain the development of the non-profit sector in a broader social, political and economic context in many countries. This theoretical approach, mainly based on Esping-Andersen's work (1990), suggests that the development of a country's non-profit sector can fall into one of four categories according to the dimensions of government social welfare spending and non-profit sector scale: (1) the liberal pattern: countries in this category have relatively low government social welfare spending and the scale of non-profit sector is relatively large; (2) the social democratic pattern: this pattern is characterised by high level of government social welfare spending and a small non-profit sector; (3) the corporatist pattern: in this pattern, countries have a high level of government social welfare spending and also a large non-profit sector; and (4) the statist pattern: this pattern reflects low levels of government social welfare spending combined with a small non-profit sector (Salamon and Anheier, 1998: 241-245). The different patterns of non-profit provision mainly reflect the different political and social contexts in different countries.

This theory successfully provides a classification of TSOs' development in different country contexts. However, it assumes that the satisfaction of citizens' needs is dependent on both government and TSOs. It also simplifies the cause of TSOs' growth as being about the division of labour between government and TSOs. In addition, Wagner (2000) argues that social origins theory pays little attention to historical evolution, nor does it take into account the dimension of interdependence between public and private organisations. Ragin (1998) also argues that non-profit

organisations are varied from country to country and that it is really difficult to develop a general theory by using an aggregate definition of non-profit organisation.

The theories discussed above are the most remarkable of the theories which have been developed in the past three decades to explain the emergence of TSOs providing social services. Besides the social service provision theoretical approach, another important approach is the civil society revival approach. This is discussed in the next sub-section.

3.2.1.2 The civil society revival approach

Beside the social service provision approach (section 3.2.1.1), another approach to explaining the growth of TSOs is the civil society revival approach, which emerged in the 1980s especially after Central and Eastern European countries were no longer governed by Communist regimes. TSOs are believed to play a vital role in creating the transition from totalitarian to non-totalitarian societies, the latter being characterised by the existence of 'civil society' (Deakin, 2001:112-114). In addition, under the influence of some important political theories which relate to civil associations in civil society, the existence of civil associations have been considered to contribute to the promotion of political democracy (Tocqueville, 1946) and social capital (Putnam, 1993 and 2000). Therefore, from a political perspective, the emergence of TSOs can benefit society in many ways. However, different academics conceive civil society differently.

The term 'civil society' has been used since the time of the ancient Greek philosophers, but it has been defined variously in different times and in different

social contexts. The modern idea of civil society emerged in the 18th century as a response to the puzzle of how to respond to social disorder. Hegel used the notion of civil society to refer to a public domain which is separated from the state, and in which people can freely associate based on their own interests and the constraints of the legal system (Hegel, 1967: 110). For Hegel, people can retain their interests by association but cannot offend law or destroy social order. Therefore, civil society is separate from the state but it is not isolated from the state. State and civil society still have a close connection. Gramsci, a neo-Marxist, portrayed civil society as 'a special nucleus of independent political activity, a crucial sphere of struggle against tyranny' (Carothers, 1999-2000). In short, civil society has been regarded as an important institution to promote democracy.

More recently, since the 1990s, the phrase 'civil society' have been used to refer to *'the space of un-coerced human associations and also the set of relational networks—formed for the sake of family, faith, interest and ideology—that fill this space'* (Walzer, 2003:306). O'Connell (2000: 472) declares that *'the most common agreement about civil society is that it represents the balance between rights granted to individuals in free societies and the responsibilities required of citizens to maintain those rights'*. In civil societies, then, people can associate freely according to their needs, interests, faith and so on to maintain their civil rights. The rise of TSOs has been widely explained as a reflection of the revival of civil society and they have been recognised as a vehicle for people to participate in public affairs, promote liberal democracy and develop a healthy civil society.

Since the crisis of Western welfare states which began in the 1970s and the collapse of

Communist regimes in Central and Eastern European countries and Latin American countries, it is understood that the state cannot promise to provide a good life for people and meet all individual needs. In addition, the state cannot properly deal with conflicts between capital and labour. In line with these theories, the growth of TSOs can be explained by discontent with the performance of government or the market. People then freely organise together to achieve their interests or rights. However, even though TSOs have been acknowledged as an important component of civil society in the social science community, in fact, they do not comprise the whole civil society (Carothers, 1999-2000; O'Connell, 2000); other organisations and networks are also part of civil society.

The civil society revival approach, then, focuses on the political dimension of TSOs and on civil participation in public affairs (Lyons, 1996). The civil society revival approach can explain the growth of TSOs with respect to civil association, civil participation in public affairs and social democracy. The notion of civil society has become one of the most important concepts in TSO research in recent years.

3.2.1.3 Comments on the social service provision and civil society revival theoretical approaches

Theories which use performance failure to explain the emergence of TSOs appear to follow a rational choice logic. That is, they seem to assume that TSOs can fill the gap in public services automatically, and also that people know how to choose a trustworthy service provider rationally. In fact, neither government failure nor market failure can really explain the growth of TSOs. According to performance failure theory, TSOs will emerge only in situations of both government and market failure,

because otherwise either government or market could step in. Such theories, which come from the economic perspective, tend to simplify the cause of the emergence of the TSOs. Economic conditions might be the key factor to affect the growth of TSOs, but political, sociological, historical and other institutional factors should be also taken into account. In addition, performance failure theories also assume that only government, the commercial sector or TSOs can provide services to those in need. Family seems to be ignored in these theories. Other theories, such as social origins theory, which have been used to examine the division of labour between government and TSOs, also do not explain how different types of division of labour can happen in countries.

Regarding the civil society approach, the ideas of civil society originally come from Western societies, which after all have their own historical and cultural contexts to cultivate the ideas. However, after democracy became a common value of contemporary states, TSOs came to be regarded as a vehicle for people to participate in public affairs and TSOs can be seen as helping civil society to flourish (Deakin, 2001; Putnam, 1993). However, the existence of TSOs in itself does not necessarily indicate the existence of a healthy civil society. The case can be found in China. TSOs grew rapidly in China in the past two decades, but the Chinese government still controls TSOs tightly and TSOs are not permitted to be against government (Ma, 2002; Wong and Jun, 2006). Clearly, Western style civil society does not exist in China so far. We should be cautious, therefore, about using the concept of civil society to undertake studies in non-Western countries. Although there is an increasing focus on this area in the academic community, further exploration still needs to be done to discover the phenomenon in non-Western contexts.

The discussion in this sub-section suggests that the growth of TSOs is a response to specific social situations and brings different contributions in different countries depending on what kind of role(s) they play and how they interact with government. For example, in the Netherlands, TSOs constitute the primary social service delivery system; in Germany, government subsidised TSOs provide half of the social services; but few TSOs are used by government in Sweden (Kramer, 1981: 4). In former Soviet Union countries, TSOs have played an important role in the promotion of political democracy. The role(s) of TSOs and their interaction with government is then, another important topic in this study.

3.2.2 The role of TSOs and their interaction with government

According to the two explanatory approaches of the emergence and growth of TSOs, TSOs can bring contributions to a society in terms of social, political and economic aspects. TSOs play different roles in different countries. The role of TSOs can be also examined from two perspectives: the social service provision perspective, and the civil society perspective.

3.2.2.1 The social service provision perspective

Due to the increasing involvement of TSOs in social service provision in developed countries, many academics have paid attention on the role(s) of TSOs from different perspectives such as service provision, policy process and social cohesion. From those studies, the roles of TSOs can be identified as service provider; service pioneer or initiator; policy forming agent; and social educator.

One of the most important studies of the roles of TSOs was conducted by the US

scholar Ralph M. Kramer and published in 1981. He compared voluntary agencies serving physically and mentally handicapped people in four different welfare states: Netherlands, England, the United States and Israel. Based on discussion of the character, goals, and functions of voluntary agencies, Kramer argued that voluntary agencies can play four different roles within welfare states: as a vanguard, the purpose of the voluntary agency is to innovate, pioneer, experiment, and demonstrate programmes, some of which may eventually be taken over by government; as an improver or advocate, the agency is expected to serve as a critic, watchdog, or 'gadfly' as it pressures a governmental body to extend, improve, or establish needed services; as a value guardian of voluntaristic, particularistic, and sectarian values, a voluntary agency is expected to promote citizen participation, to develop leadership, and to protect the special interests of social, religious, cultural, or other minority groups; and as a service provider, voluntary agencies deliver services, some of which may be a public responsibility that government is unable, is unwilling, or prefers not to assume directly or fully (Kramer, 1981).

Mellor (1985) studied British national voluntary organisations which provide social services and found that voluntary organisations could play two different roles: the service provision role of personal services and supporting services; and the pressure group role. From the perspective of public policy making, Taylor (1999) pointed out that in Britain voluntary organisations have contributed to policy in the following ways: creating an active and informed citizenry; building 'social capital'; contributing to policy formulation; and acting as a vehicle for pressure. Ferris (1998: 140) also suggests that the non-profit sector can contribute in three different ways: service delivery, policy process and governing. These various contributions give TSOs the potential to ensure the representation of a diversity of interests in a pluralist society.

TSOs can play the roles of service deliverer, policy maker or assistant, advocate or pressure group, and social cohesion maker.

However, the roles of TSOs in a Western social policy context have evolved over time, affected by many factors. Taylor (1999: 185-188) points out that within the past decades, responding to the changing political and market environments in British welfare state, the roles of voluntary organisations have evolved from providing services for less fortunate people to becoming a partner with government in social service provision. TSOs can play different roles in different ages to reflect the environmental demands of a combination of factors such as social, economic, political, and ideological conditions. Therefore, when examining the roles of TSOs, environmental factors cannot be overlooked.

3.2.2.2 The civil society perspective

From the political perspective, TSOs can also contribute to society in many ways. The most mentioned contributions are promotion of social cohesion and political democracy, and acting as a mediator between parties with different interests. Dekker and Van den Broek (1998) say that there is ample empirical evidence that voluntary organisations contribute to social capital formation and public discourse. Political scientists have also conceptualised TSOs as mediators between the economic interests of markets firms and labour on the one hand, and the political interests of state agencies and their constituencies on the other. The pluralist point of view remains the most influential perspective on the political role of voluntary organisations. Pluralist theory has argued that voluntary organisations present a mechanism through which conflicts of values, interests, and views can be accommodated (Dahl, 1982: 42).

Fukuyama has also pointed out that 'civil society serves to balance the power of the state and to protect individuals from the state's power' (Fukuyama, 2001). Similarly, Putnam and his colleagues studied democracy in Italy and argued that civil associations can help to build social capital and networks of trust and reciprocity, and promote efficient functioning of democratic societies (Putnam, 1993).

In summary, from both the perspectives of social service provision and civil society, TSOs can play a variety of different roles in society. However, their roles are embedded in their environmental context and respond to environmental demands. TSOs clearly play different roles in different countries depending on their particular social contexts.

3.2.3 The relationship between government and TSOs

Relationships between government and TSOs have been widely studied within contemporary states. Many theories have been developed to explain and categorise relationships between government and TSOs. Essentially, two important approaches to analyse the relationships between government and TSOs can be identified: the national perspective approach; and the competitive or economic approach.

The first approach, the national perspective approach, is based on the national division of labour in public service provision. It regards TSOs as a distinct and internally integrated sector parallel to the government and market sectors. For example, Young (2000) reviewed the American historical context and found that the supplemental relationship, the complementary relationship and the adversarial relationship, all of which are suggested by different strands of economic theories,

could each account for government/non-profit sector relations in different circumstances. This approach has also been used in the conduct of international comparative studies of the division of labour between government and TSOs in social service provision among welfare states. For example, Gidron, Kramer and Salamon (1992) studied different welfare states and used the two dimensions of finance and service delivery to distinguish four models of the relationships between government and TSOs: the government-dominant model, the third-sector-dominant model, the dual model and the collaborative model. These models simply describe the division of labour between government and TSOs within a country. But they do not consider the role of the market and do not explain why and how the models may arise in practice in different countries.

Some scholars have suggested that different national historical traditions or values are important factors to explain the development of different relationships between government and TSOs (Dollery and Wallis, 2003; Henriksen and Bundesen, 2004; Seibel, 1992). Thus national historical conditions and national values should be considered when studying TSOs in any specific country.

The second approach, the competitive or economic perspective, considers TSOs as an alternative service provider which substitutes for or competes with government, when government cannot satisfy individual welfare needs. In the 1970s and the 1980s, an economic approach based on the idea of rational choice, dominated discussions of state-third sector relations. 'Government failure' (Weisbrod, 1977) and 'market failure' (Hansmann, 1980) suggested that when either government or markets fail to provide social services, TSOs replace them. Therefore, TSOs could be supplementary, complementary or adversarial to government (Young, 2000). Najam (2000) used

'policy ends and means' based on the theory of strategic institutional interests, as two dimensions to differentiate four types of relations between the third sector and government: cooperation, confrontation, complementarity and cooptation.

The two approaches (the national approach and the economic approach) provide important ways to understand the difference in relationships between government and TSOs in different countries. But the practical interaction between government and TSOs has still been simplified and overlooked. First, there can be different types of relationship between government and TSOs within a single country. A country does not necessarily have only one type of relationship between government and TSOs. For example, Vincent and Harrow (2005) found different kinds of government-TSO relationships between Scotland and England within the British context. TSOs are varied in terms of their capability, service and profession, even though they are embedded in the same social and political context. We would therefore expect different types of TSO to have different relationships with governments even within a single country.

The economic or competitive approach does not quite explain the real picture of relations between government and TSOs in modern welfare states either. Several researchers (e.g. Saidel, 1991; Gidron et al., 1992; Kramer, 1990) have suggested that the cooperative relationship between government and TSOs can explain the relationship better than the competitive approach. Salamon (1987) pointed out that governments and TSOs each have their strengths and weaknesses, and these can complement each other. Thus, a cooperative relationship rather than a conflict relationship between government and non-profit organisations is a worldwide phenomenon (Salamon, 1999).

Since the economic approach seems no longer to properly reflect the real situation among many Western welfare states, further examination of the interactive relationship between government and TSOs is needed to understand the real picture in different countries.

Both the nationalist and the economic approaches neglect the variety among TSOs and omit investigation of the practical interactive operation between governments and TSOs. Two approaches are not sufficient to explain the real interaction between government and TSOs. These points will be considered further in this study.

3.3 Studies of TSOs in Taiwan

Issues of TSOs which have been discussed in previous section (3.2) have also become increasingly important in Taiwan in recent years alongside the expansion of social welfare provision and political transformation. The following subsections focus on the literature and theories of TSOs in Taiwan.

3.3.1 Explanations of the growth of TSOs in Taiwan

The growth of TSOs in Taiwan started from the late 1980s and they expanded rapidly in the 1990s. Explanations of the rise of TSOs in Taiwan have been dominated by theories about the abolition of Martial Law in 1987 and a demand for civil society (section 1.1). The expansion of TSOs in Taiwan has therefore been considered as a by-product of political reform or the driving force to political reform.

Hsiao (1990: 163-180) argued that after Martial Law was abolished in 1987, social forces were released. Many TSOs were established and involved in social movements.

He used the theory of civil society and argued that the rise of TSOs in Taiwan reflects a demand for civil society. In addition, Hsiao argued that political liberalization in the 1980s and social-economic development all contributed to the growth of TSOs in Taiwan (Hsiao, 2000). Following Hsiao's argument, Ku (1999:124-130) also thought that the abolition of Martial Law drove the proliferation of TSOs and the formation of civil society in Taiwan. He pointed out that civil society did not exist in Taiwan during the Martial Law period but that after the abolition of Martial Law, political forces were no longer able to dominate social forces and the mechanisms of people's association could function normally. When Martial Law was abolished in 1987, social forces were released instantly and reflected directly in the emergence of various social movements. In the early 1990s, however, as society stabilised, people transferred the force of social movements into social organisations to continue functioning and maintain their impact on social issues. Ku (1999) argued that this is the reason why TSOs grew significantly after 1987.

Nowadays, many TSOs are actively participating in provision of social services and try to affect public policy making. TSOs are, in effect, replacing some of the government's functions. Flourishing TSOs are a direct reflection of the mobilisation of the consciousness of citizens leading to the emergence of an autonomous civil society in Taiwan and promoting political democracy (Ku, 1999:130-131). Hsieh, on the other hand, argues that after the abolition of Martial Law, people's welfare needs expanded remarkably and that it is this change which led to the growth of TSOs (Hsieh, 2000: 21). Her argument, then, assumes a link between social need in Taiwan and the establishment of TSOs to provide social services.

According to these Taiwanese academics, who adopt the theory of civil society to explain the growth of TSOs in Taiwan, the abolition of Martial Law was a critical factor in the formation of civil society in Taiwan. It led to significant growth in TSOs and the emergence of civil society. Deakin, however, suggested that *'a healthy civil society cannot be artificially created or imposed. It needs to grow spontaneously, over a considerable length of time and sometimes in ways not readily comprehensible to outsiders not familiar with the culture in which it has developed'* (Deakin, 2001: 14). This raises the question of how civil society or TSOs in Taiwan suddenly emerged after the abolition of Martial Law. Maybe the abolition of Martial Law was one of the factors but it was not the key determinant. The growth of TSOs in Taiwan might have also been affected by other social policies and traditional Chinese social welfare ideas. The growth of TSOs in Taiwan seems to require further examination of broader institutional environments.

3.3.2 The roles of TSOs and their interaction with government in Taiwan

Hsiao (2000) suggests that TSOs in Taiwan gradually developed their roles after the 1980s, initiating new services, advocating social reform, maintaining social values, offering a vehicle for public participation in public affairs and providing social services. Kuan and Lin studied charitable organisations in the Chia-Yi area in Taiwan and argue that the role of charitable organisations ranged from providing traditional poverty relief to getting involving in a variety of social services (Kuan and Lin, 2000). It appears that the roles of TSOs are varied according to the type of TSOs. According to Taiwanese academics, the roles of TSOs in Taiwan are similar to these identified by Kramer (1981), that is, vanguard; improver or advocate; social value guardian; and service provider.

Kuan (1995) examined the relationship between government and the Taiwan Christian Children's Fund (CCF) from 1964 to 1977. He found that in order to keep a harmonious relationship with government, CCF had to follow the principle of 'no-involvement-in-politics', help government to deliver childcare services and maintain non-partisan friendships with leaders of the KMT government. The principles of Confucianism still affected the interaction between government and TSOs at that time at least.

More recently, Hsieh (2000) has traced the history of interaction between government and TSOs in Taiwan since the Qing dynasty, and found four different types of relationship: a cooperative pattern, (government and TSOs share a similar attitude to welfare provision and they can work as partners); a state-led pattern, (government uses welfare measures as a tool to gain people's political support and TSOs have to work under the strict control of government); a state selected pattern, (government holds funding and only subsidises the TSOs which support government); and a collaboration pattern, (government and TSOs work separately but can work on an agreed agenda when necessary). Hsieh still treats TSOs as an aggregate concept and her argument implies that common values between government and TSOs are a determining factor affecting their relationship. She also implies that there is only one type of relationship between government and TSOs within one period of time. In fact, this classification of the relationship between government and TSOs does not take into account variation between TSOs and other institutional factors.

Leu and Kuo (2003) examined TSOs in the Chia-Yi area in Taiwan and found that local government lacks the capacity to deliver social services and has to rely on the

support of TSOs. They also argue that professional and financial ability as well as the size of TSOs and their own organisational abilities can influence the types of interaction they have with government (Leu and Kuo, 2003). Their findings suggest that this study should take into account organisational differences between TSOs. They also say that issues surrounding government-TSO relationships do not occur differently at local and national level in Taiwan. Irrespective of whether they are central or local government departments, they all have to follow the 'Civil Association Act' or other regulations which regulate TSOs.

3.4 Research argument, questions and conceptual approach

3.4.1 The research argument and research questions

Even though Taiwanese academics have paid some attention to the growth of TSOs and their function, the phenomena have still not been fully understood; especially the question of why so many TSOs, especially those related to social service and charity, have been established and are increasingly involved in social service provision, as well as how they operate within the social welfare context in Taiwan. In addition, existing theories of Martial Law abolition and demand for civil society do not fully explain the rapid increase of TSOs in Taiwan since the late 1980s.

TSOs significantly increased after the abolition of Martial Law in 1987, but they also grew rapidly in response to the Taiwanese government's plans to expand social welfare provision. According to official statistics, among TSOs in Taiwan, social associations which provide social services have flourished more than any other types of TSOs and they have become increasingly involved in social service provision (see

Chapter Two). To campaign for civil society does not seem to be the main organisational goal of those TSOs. Although political democratisation and liberalisation probably encouraged people to associate together freely and encouraged people to participate in public affairs to protect their rights, it cannot explain the wish to establish TSOs or to be actively involved in the provision of social services.

Comparing the situation in Taiwan with the experiences of Western welfare states, using theories generated from Western countries is also questionable. The growth of TSOs in Taiwan occurred after the Taiwanese government increased social welfare expenditure and expanded the provision of social welfare in the late 1980s – a time when Western governments were retrenching welfare expenditure. The growth of TSOs in Taiwan was certainly not a response to any crisis of the Taiwanese welfare state.

Furthermore, the Taiwanese political regime has been very different from former Soviet Union countries or other communist countries. Although the Taiwanese government did impose Martial Law, it did not act as a real totalitarian authority and totally restrict people's freedom to associate together. It did gradually provide a freer public realm for people as military tension between mainland China and Taiwan eased. Thus, neither welfare state theory nor civil society theory is sufficient to explain the rapid growth of TSOs in Taiwan since the late 1980s.

In practice, TSOs are embedded in their unique combination of ideological, historical, political, economic and social conditions, and their growth reflects the demands of their environments. DiMaggio and Anheier (1990:137-159) argue that the rise of non-profit organisations in contemporary industrial society is related to three

institutions: initial key decisions in an organisation; public policy; and ideology. Hence studying the emergence or functions of the TSOs cannot ignore the institutional environments within which TSOs exist.

In this study, the researcher argues that basically, the dramatic growth of TSOs in Taiwan began in the late 1980s when the government started to expand the provision of social welfare in response to the demands of their environment, and that the role and operation of TSOs and their interaction with government has been influenced by institutional environmental factors such as historical tradition, ideology, social expectations, social changes, economic development and political impact. In order to maintain their legitimacy and survival, TSOs follow social expectations and institutional rules rather than act in opposition to their institutional environment.

Since the aim of this dissertation is to study the phenomenon of the growth of TSOs and their increasing involvement in social service provision and their role and operation within the Taiwanese social welfare context, and since social service and charitable associations (SSCOs) have increased more than any other types of TSOs and they are directly related to different social services, these particular kinds of TSOs (social service and charitable associations) are the focus of study here. As for the research questions, these follow from the gaps identified by the literature review and are as follows:

1. What are the features of social service and charitable organisations in Taiwan?
2. Why have social service and charitable organisations grown significantly since the late 1980s?

3. What is/are the role(s) of social service and charitable organisations in Taiwan?
4. What is/are the relationship(s) between the Taiwanese government and social service and charitable organisations? And why does/ do their relationship(s) function in that way?
5. How do institutional factors affect the operation of social service and charitable organisations?

Through answering these questions, some of the knowledge gaps identified by the literature review will be filled. The findings will also contribute to knowledge of Taiwanese social policy and TSOs.

3.4.2 The conceptual approach to this study

This research focuses on the role and operation of TSOs in Taiwan and their involvement in social service provision. The institutional environments of TSOs are expected to be explanatory factors. Therefore, organisation theories concerned with the impact of environment on organisations will form the conceptual framework for this research.

In fact, there are many organisation theories which examine the impacts of organisational environments on organisations. Some focus on the relationship between a single organisation and its environment e.g. contingency theory, or inter-organisational relations theory such as resource dependence theory (Hatch,

1997). However, because this research does not intend to focus on a single organisation, those organisation theories which focus more on single or inter-organisations are not appropriate as frameworks. Nor are organisation theories such as population ecology theory which use a biological metaphor to study organisational 'populations' and their technical, physical or economic environment (Hatch, 1997). New institutional theory provides a more appropriate framework for a number of reasons.

New institutional theory emphasises the impact of institutional factors and environments on organisations, and why organisations in the same field tend to behave in a similar way (Mckinley and Mone, 2003). According to the literature review presented in the previous two chapters, the emergence, role, and operation of TSOs appears to be affected by their institutional environments including factors like historical traditions, ideology, social influence, economic development and political impact. New institutional theory is, therefore, suitable for this particular piece of research and it is adapted here as the theoretical framework for this research.

New institutional theory has been developed within a number of different disciplines including politics, economics, history, sociology, and organisation behaviour. Different disciplines focus on different aspects. As to organisational behaviour study, new institutional theory pays attention to the organisational population level (Mckinley and Mone, 2003) and suggests that in modern societies, formal organisations have existed in highly institutionalised contexts (Meyer and Rowan, 1991). Organisations try to incorporate institutional rules, social expectations and professional practices to increase their legitimacy and survival prospects. Within an organisational context, legislation, regulations, policies, values, customs and even

rationalised myths have been gradually developed. Meyer and Rowan (1991: 41) argue that *'organisations are driven to incorporate the practice and procedures defined by prevailing rationalised concepts of organisational work and institutionalised in society'*. Institutional rules affect organisational structure, management and their interaction with their environments. Organisations, it is argued, conform to institutional regulations and customs to decrease organisational uncertainty and increase their own survival.

Scott (2003: 28-29) asserts that *'organisations are congeries of interdependence flows and activities linking shifting coalitions of participants embedded in wider material-resource and institutional environments'*. He terms this an 'open systems' perspective; one which indicates the importance of cultural-cognitive elements in the construction of organisations. Scott also suggests that the organisational environment does not only supply resources for organisations but it also acts as a 'source of meanings' for organisations (Scott, 2001: 42). Therefore, the existence of formal organisations is not only for economic reasons. Formal organisations also have social and cultural meanings.

Hatch asserts that an organisational environment can put demands on an organisation in two different ways (Hatch, 1997: 83):

First, it may make technical and economic demands that require organisations to produce and exchange their goods and services in a market or a quasi-market. Second, it may make social and cultural demands that require organisations to play particular roles in society and to establish and maintain certain outward appearances. An environment dominated by technical or economic demands rewards organisations for efficiently and effectively

supplying the environment with goods and services.

In short, new institutional theory emphasises not only the importance of physical environments to organisations but also the importance of cultural environments.

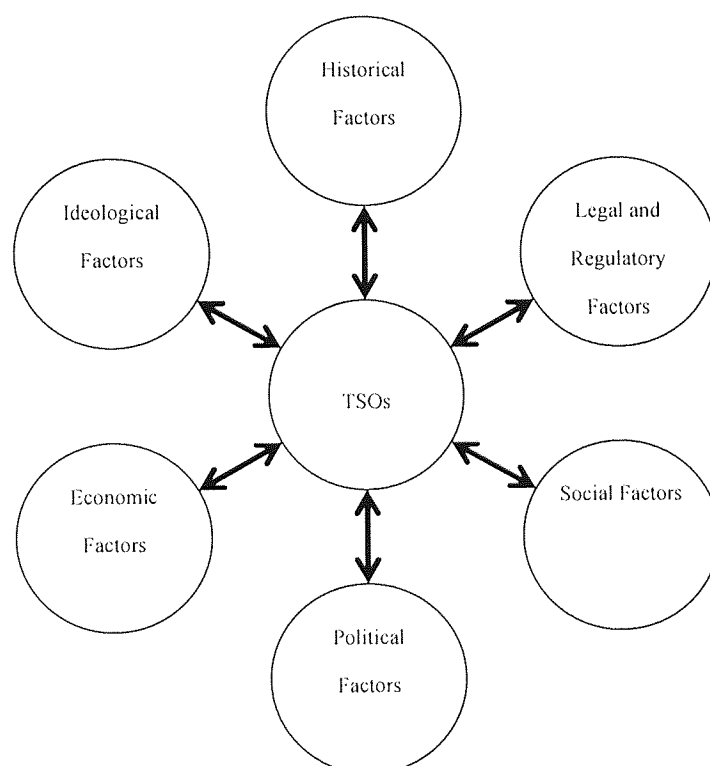
New institutional theorists also argue that organisations in the same population or field have to act similarly to respond to the explicit or implicit pressures from their environments and they therefore tend to become more alike over time. This process is termed 'isomorphism'. DiMaggio and Powell differentiate three ways in which organisations in a same population may be pressured to behave similarly: coercive pressures (the function of organisations are affected by government mandate or cultural expectation); mimetic pressures (organisations model themselves on other organisations to minimise uncertainty); and normative pressures (organisations follow professional expectation in order to try to increase their legitimacy) (DiMaggio and Powell, 1991: 67-71).

In practice, organisations are not only affected by their environment. They can themselves impact on their environment and change the institutional rules. Scott, in fact, suggests that organisations and environments are interdependent. Environments profoundly shape organisations in terms of their structure, performance and their outcomes but organisations also attempt to influence their environments (Scott, 2003:145-146).

Applying new institutional theory to the study of the emergence, operation and role of third sector organisations and their interaction with government suggests the importance of taking into account the institutional environment including the

historical, economic, social, ideological, and political environment; the way they impact on TSOs and the way in which TSOs impact on them. Drawing on this new institutional perspective, and building on the link between TSOs and environmental factors identified earlier in this chapter and in Chapter One (see Figures 1.1, 1.5 and 1.6) the researcher can now suggest a conceptual framework for this study as illustrated in Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1 The Conceptual Framework



This framework will guide the conduct of the empirical study. In the next chapter, the research method and research approach are discussed.

3.5 Chapter summary

In this chapter, the researcher reviewed the literature about the emergence, operation,

and role of TSOs and about their interaction with government. The literature of third sector studies done by Taiwanese academics was also reviewed. Most TSOs theories were developed in Western countries, particularly in the United States and the United Kingdom but very little attention has been paid to TSOs beyond the non-Western social context, especially in Chinese societies. The knowledge gap as regards Taiwan has been pointed out, and the research argument and research questions specified. The general aim is to do research and build theories which are grounded in the Taiwanese social welfare context.

New institutional theory has been proposed to provide a framework for the study. In the next chapter a research approach and methodology is presented.

Chapter Four

Research Approach and Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This research aims to examine why TSOs have grown rapidly since the late 1980s in Taiwan; why they are increasingly involved in social services provision; and how they operate and position their role within the Taiwanese social welfare context. This chapter presents the methodology adopted in this research and the practical process of data collection in the field.

This chapter begins by discussing philosophical considerations of social science research (section 4.2). It then discusses the traditional dichotomy of research approaches, which are quantitative and qualitative approaches, and compares the two approaches (section 4.3). It continues with the rationale for the research methodology employed in this study; 'mixed methods approach' which has emerged to provide an alternative to the traditional choice between quantitative and qualitative approaches (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004) (section 4.4). In addition, since varied methods are used to collect data in mixed methods research, the idea of triangulation is presented along with an explanation of how it enhances reliability (section 4.5). The chapter then describes the empirical research carried out, including how the sample was chosen and how data was collected for both quantitative and qualitative research (section 4.6). Because the study includes qualitative research, the researcher's self, role and position in the research process is discussed (section 4.7). Finally, the contributions and limitations of this research are displayed (section 4.8).

4.2 Philosophical considerations of social science research

Different methodological approaches are connected to different philosophical approaches to the nature of social phenomena and the nature of knowledge construction. Sarantakos (1998: 15) asserts that *'the driving force behind any type of social research is its philosophical framework. This dictates not only the general perception of reality and social relations but also the types of methods and techniques available to researchers'*. Therefore, philosophical stance can affect the research method chosen. Basically, philosophical stance can be discussed from two perspectives: the nature of social reality; and the development of knowledge of social reality.

'Ontology' is the branch of philosophy concerned with the nature of social entities or reality. There are two main ontological assumptions in social science (Bryman, 2004: 16-17): objectivism (which assumes that social phenomena are objective, independent, or separate from actors who cannot influence social entities); and constructionism (which asserts that social phenomena and their meanings are generated, or constructed, through social interaction between social actors).

Researchers who hold different ontological beliefs conceive social reality differently and this affects their approach to research on social phenomena. Researchers who take an objective stance believe that social phenomena exist independently and that they can be measured. Researchers who take a constructivist stance, on the other hand, think that social 'facts' are grounded in the interaction between subjects and that they can constantly change as circumstances change. Bryman (2004, 19) points out that *'ontological assumptions and commitments will feed into the ways in which research*

questions are formulated and research is carried out'. Therefore, these two very different ontological beliefs, or perspective on social reality, can have a substantial impact on the development of research methodologies. Different philosophical considerations lead social researchers to investigate different research questions, using different methods to discover social phenomena.

The second essential question of social research is about the philosophical consideration of how social researchers can acquire knowledge of a social entity or a phenomenon. This is the branch of philosophy known as 'epistemology', which is concerned with the theory of knowledge (Crotty, 1998). Epistemology is related to philosophical beliefs about the use of methodology to produce valid knowledge. There are two important stances of epistemology in social science: positivism; and interpretivism. Positivism arose in the nineteenth century and the term was created by Auguste Comte (1798-1857). His theory has had a major influence on contemporary social science thinking. He argued that social phenomena can share the same epistemological form as phenomena studied in the natural sciences and can be perceived through using the senses in acquiring knowledge (Sarantakos, 1998). Social researchers who use a positivist approach tend to use experiments and surveys to generate quantitative data to develop general laws to explain social phenomena. Bryman points out that positivism contains at least five elements: knowledge can only be produced by the senses and empirical evidence; hypotheses are generated from theory and should be accessed empirically; knowledge is based on empirical facts which provide the basis for laws; science should be value-neutral; and social research should seek scientific statements (Bryman, 2004: 11). Even though positivism has been prevalent in social science thinking for a long time, it has also been challenged by social scientists who hold a contrasting epistemological stance — 'interpretivism'.

Interpretivism is another epistemological assumption, and it is regarded as having started with Wilhelm Dilthey (1833-1911) in the late nineteenth century (Delanty and Strydom, 2003). Dilthey distinguished human study from physical science and pointed out that *'the subjects of human studies is not merely an appearance given to senses, a mere reflection in the mind of some outer reality, but inner reality directly experienced in all its complexity'* (Dilthey, 2003: 99). In contrast with positivist researchers, researchers who hold to interpretivism, generally prefer to use participant observation in the social field and directly contact people to find out the meaning for them of social phenomena. Research findings are generated by interaction between researcher and research subjects.

Different epistemological traditions influence the development of methodologies in research practice. This is because different epistemological considerations imply different ideas about how to generate knowledge of social phenomena. In the following section, the traditional dichotomy of research methodologies and the comparison between these two approaches in terms of their philosophical assumptions and practical research methods are discussed.

4.3 Traditional dichotomy of research methodologies

Social science research is basically regarded as a process of using appropriate methods systematically to produce valid knowledge of social phenomena (Neuman, 2000:2). Different methodological approaches can be used to develop knowledge of social phenomena. Traditionally, social research approaches can be classified into two main paradigms: quantitative and qualitative. The two paradigms reflect essentially

different philosophical beliefs and different approaches to collection of data. They also generate different types of findings. In fact, the two research approaches have different strengths and weaknesses and can actually complement each other.

As to philosophical foundations, Neuman pointed out that generally speaking, most quantitative researchers hold a positivist stance on research in social science. By contrast, qualitative researchers often use an interpretive approach (Neuman, 2000: 122). The philosophical difference underpins a significant distinction between quantitative and qualitative research approaches. Bryman compares the quantitative approach with the qualitative approach in terms of their theory building, epistemological and ontological considerations. He states that the quantitative approach is based on the natural scientific model of research and regards social reality as existing independently from the research subjects. Quantitative researchers test theory in a deductive way. The qualitative approach, by contrast, is used to generate theory rather than to test theory. It emphasises that the meanings of social reality are grounded in individual interpretation, and asserts that social reality is not static (Bryman, 2004). A comparison between these two research approaches is summarised in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1

Philosophical differences between quantitative and qualitative research

Item	Quantitative Research	Qualitative Research
Principal orientation to the role of theory in relation to research	Deductive; testing of theory	Inductive; generation of theory
Epistemological orientation	Natural science model; in particular positivism	Interpretivism
Ontological orientation	Objectivism	Constructionism

Reproduced from Bryman (2004: 20)

In practice, quantitative methodology is usually used to conceptualise social reality by measuring variables and trying to find out the relationships between variables. The strengths of quantitative methodology are that it enables standardisation of data, objective comparison of variables, systematic responses to questions, and profiling of dimensions of research situations or phenomena. Qualitative methodology, on the other hand, aims to understand the meanings and varieties of social phenomena rather than the relationships between variables. One of the great strengths of qualitative methodology is that it can get respondents' perspectives, the actors' definition of the situation and the meanings people attach to things and events (Punch, 2005: 237-238). Bauer et al. compare quantitative method with qualitative method in terms of practical level (see Table 4.2) (Bauer et al., 2005: 7):

Table 4.2
Practical differences between quantitative and qualitative methods

Item	Quantitative method	Qualitative method
Data	Numbers	Texts
Analysis	Statistics	Interpretation
Prototype	Opinion polling	Depth interviewing
Quality	Hard	Soft

Reproduced from Bauer (2005: 7)

According to the above comparison, quantitative and qualitative approaches have their respective strengths and weaknesses. The strengths of the quantitative research method can complement the weaknesses of the qualitative research method, and vice versa. In fact, the different methods try to deal with different research questions and achieve different research purposes. They do not exclude each other.

Sometimes research questions involve both quantitative and qualitative features. Hence, research goals cannot be achieved by using only one research method. Snape and Spencer (2003: 15) suggest that quantitative and qualitative research are not competing and contradictory to each other but should be seen as complementary strategies for different types of research questions and issues. It follows that it would be appropriate to combine these two different methodological approaches in one study if a piece of research involves more than one type of research question. The emergence of mixed methods research, which is mainly based on pragmatism, provides an alternative to the traditional dichotomy and bridges the methodological gap. In the next section 'mixed methods research' is introduced and why it is adopted in this research is explained.

4.4 Mixed methods approach for this study

Beyond the traditional dichotomy of social research methodologies, mixed methods research is used where the research study involves answering both quantitative and qualitative research questions. This applies to the current study which therefore employs mixed methods approach. The following two sub-sections provide an introduction to mixed methods research and the justification for using it here.

4.4.1 Mixed methods research

In contrast with 'pure' quantitative and qualitative approaches, mixed methods research is essentially pragmatic and builds on the theories of Peirce, James, Dewey and Mead (Bryman, 2004; Creswell, 2003; Snape and Spencer, 2003; Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998). Basically, pragmatism implies that knowledge is considered as an

instrument or tool for organising experience and pragmatism is concerned with the union of theory and practice (Schwandt, 2001: 204). Pragmatism actually provides a rationale for combining different methods, even when they are from different paradigms. The appropriate way to conduct research is to consider the research questions first and then consider possible research methods. Mixed methods research responds to the nature of research questions and does not exclude the possibility of incorporating more than one research method in order to achieve research purposes.

Combining quantitative and qualitative research methods could be considered as one type of mixed methods research. Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004: 17) define mixed methods research as *'the class of research where the researcher mixes or combines quantitative and qualitative research techniques, methods, approaches, concepts or language into a single study'*. Morse (2003:190) defines mixed methods research as *'the incorporation of various qualitative or quantitative strategies within a single project that may have either a qualitative or quantitative theoretical drive'*. Furthermore, Johnson and Onwuegbuzie point out that *'mixed methods research is an expansive and creative form of research, not a limiting form of research. It is inclusive, pluralistic, and complementary...'* (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004: 17).

The question then arises of how to mix or combine research methods, since there are different ways to combine quantitative and qualitative methods into one study, depending on the research purpose, questions and theory. Generally speaking, mixed methods research can be categorised according to the relative priority that is given to quantitative or qualitative methods. Creswell suggests that there are three different research strategies associated with mix methods research: sequential procedures (where the researcher tries to elaborate the research findings of one method with

another method); concurrent procedures (where the researcher uses both quantitative and qualitative methods at the same time); and transformative procedures (where the researcher uses quantitative and qualitative methods to collect data but the procedure is based on a theoretical concern) (Creswell, 2003: 16). Ritchie also classifies mixed methods research into three types by using different criteria for the classification: preceding statistical enquiry (using qualitative methods before quantitative methods to define terminology, concepts or subjects for investigation); alongside statistical enquiry (the research aims are to examine both the number and nature of the same phenomenon); and follow-up to statistical enquiry (which suits research where there is a need for further explanation or more detail or depth about a phenomenon) (Ritchie, 2004: 40-43). Both Creswell and Ritchie demonstrate that in a mixed methods research, the function of different methods is to collect complementary data and enhance the understanding of the research questions.

As regards the current study, many essential concepts such as the definition, and the role and governance of third sector organisation have already been developed by other authors and used worldwide. Therefore, a quantitative study can be conducted before the qualitative study. The quantitative part can provide a statistical picture in the first place. This can be followed by complementary and supplementary study through semi-structured interviews to discover the deeper meanings and varieties of the research questions and provide deeper explanation. Semi-structured interviews can also provide information to help quantitative data analysis. For example, quantitative data in this research depict the types of relationship between SSCOs and government in Taiwan and the qualitative interviews provide further explanation of these different types of relationship. In addition, initially, quantitative data were analysed and provided the general features of all SSCOs in this study. After the researcher finished

the semi-structured interviews, qualitative data revealed that SSOs are different from COs in many ways. Therefore, the researcher re-analysed the quantitative data for many variables by separating SSOs from COs and obtained further findings. These examples are discussed again in the Chapter Five.

4.4.2 Justification for using mixed methods research in this study

As indicated in the above discussion about philosophical considerations in social science research, objectivism and constructivism refer to different perspectives on the nature of social reality; and positivism and interpretivism focus differently on knowledge of social phenomena. No philosophical consideration is superior to another. Different philosophical traditions and their related research methodologies may, however, be more appropriate for some study questions than others. For example, culture shock for students studying abroad can be depicted by figures to see how many students have culture shock and can be measured objectively. Therefore, it is appropriate to employ quantitative methods to collect data about culture shock rates of foreign students. However, the meaning of culture shock and how to cope with it for an individual foreign student are matters of individual construction and interpretation. Therefore, qualitative methods would be more appropriate. Thus, social research methods need to be decided by considering the nature of the research question.

In this study, the research questions are about the features of TSOs, the reason(s) for their growth, their role(s) within the Taiwanese social welfare context and their relationship(s) with government. Quantitative data are needed to present the features of the organisations and therefore a self-completion questionnaire can be used to collect the data. In addition, the questionnaire can be used to collect part of the data

for answering other research questions, for example the role(s) of TSOs and the relation(s) between TSOs and government. On the other hand, questions such as the reason(s) for organisational establishment, how TSOs are affected by institutional factors and the practice of their interaction with government might be better answered by collecting qualitative data.

As the research purposes are not only to understand the statistics of TSOs but also to understand the meaning and varieties of their behaviours, mixed methods research is more appropriate than using either a quantitative or a qualitative method alone. Mixed methods research combines quantitative and qualitative methods. The two methods complement each other and generate better findings for this research.

4.5 Triangulation as a research strategy to enhance reliability

In mixed methods research, different methods are used to generate different types of data and the data generated by one method can also be used to ensure the reliability of another method or another set of data. The foundation of this procedure is the concept of triangulation.

According to the Cambridge International Dictionary of English (Procter, 1996:1556), triangulation means *'the division of a map or plan into triangles for measurement purposes, or the calculation of positions and distances using this method'*. Thus, when someone wants to measure the true location of a place, he or she can locate the place by observing it from two different viewpoints. Denzin (1978) adopted this idea and applied it to social science research. He thought each research method simply reveals different aspects of empirical reality, so multiple methods of observations will

provide more reliable data. He argued that it is better to investigate a social phenomenon from several perspectives, rather than from one only, and that this can also avoid personal biases and ensure the reliability of the research.

There are several types of triangulation: data triangulation; investigator triangulation; theory triangulation; and methodological triangulation (Denzin, 1978:294-304). For the first type, researchers use a standard method to collect data from as many different settings or sample groups as possible to discover the whole picture of the concept or social phenomenon which they are studying. In the second type, multiple observers are employed to do the research. They may not occupy equally prominent roles in the actual observational process, but through this triangulation, the potential bias that comes from a single person will be reduced, and ensure a greater reliability in observation. The third type, theory triangulation, extends the thinking in the planning stages of research or interpreting data. The last type is triangulation of method; mixing qualitative and quantitative styles of research and data. In this type there are two forms to be noted, 'within-method' triangulation and 'between-method' triangulation. Within-method triangulation usually employs multiple strategies within one method to examine data. The second form combines dissimilar methods to measure the same unit. The aim of the two forms is, again, to increase the reliability of the findings.

In this study, most questions in the quantitative questionnaire were also included in the guidelines for the qualitative interviews. Therefore, the data were collected using similar questions but using both quantitative and qualitative methods, that is, through the strategy of methodological triangulation.

4.6 The empirical study

This research consists of quantitative and qualitative parts which were conducted sequentially between August 2003 and February 2004. During this period, the questionnaires were posted to collect quantitative data first. After the quantitative data were collected and analysed, semi-structured interviewees were undertaken to collect qualitative data and try to collect further information built on the preliminary quantitative findings.

In the following two sub-sections the processes and methods of quantitative and qualitative data collection for this study are presented respectively.

4.6.1 Quantitative data collection

4.6.1.1 Quantitative data collection process

In quantitative research, researchers standardise their questions to generalise their findings. To do so, it is important to collect data from a representative sample which is randomly selected (Gomm, 2004:71). However, a representative sample depends on a precise sample frame. Thus, a well established sample frame is one of the key elements for quantitative data collection. For this research, the sample frame was based on the name lists of membership associations from government.

According to the Civil Association Act (section 1.4.1), membership associations have to register with governments (national or local governments). Thus, they have a record of every legal membership association. In line with the research aim of this study (4.1), the target population was restricted to social service and charitable

organisations. Therefore, basically, the sample frame was based on the name lists of SSCOs which were published either in electronic version on the internet or hard copy in print by each county or city government in Taiwan in 2002.

According to the official statistics, by the end of 2002, there were 6,576 associations registered with the Department of Social Affairs of the Ministry of Interior Affairs, the Taiwan provincial government and county governments. However, some county governments did not update their name lists of SSCOs on the internet periodically and so the most up to date name lists can not be obtained from the internet. Therefore, only 5,827 SSCOs were accessible on available lists at the start of the research.

Among those SSCOs, associations such as some special women's associations (e.g. 婦女會, 水噹噹) and civil service or public affairs associations (e.g. 民眾服務社, 民主促進會) are either supported by political party members or are founded for political purpose. They do not have a social service aim even though they are registered as 'social service' associations. Furthermore, in order to support specific politicians, people also establish membership associations (e.g. 李友會, 連友會, 扁友會) and register as social associations to undertake their political purposes rather than social services. Those associations can be easily distinguished by their name. All such associations were excluded from the research population, leaving finally, 5,290 associations in total remaining in the sample frame.

After the sample frame was identified in this way, 529 SSCOs, which represented 10% of the population, were randomly selected as the sample for this research by a PPS method (sampling with probability proportional to size) with respect to the size of SSCOs in each county or municipal city. There is no absolute principle about how

large a sample should be; it depends on the time and money available, how accurate the sample has to be for the researcher's purpose and the population characteristics. For probability sampling, Neuman (2000: 217) suggests a principle of sample sizes, which is: *'the smaller the population, the bigger the sampling ratio has to be for an accurate sample. Larger populations permit smaller sampling ratios for equally good samples.'* He suggests that for moderately large populations (10,000), a 10 percent sampling ratio is needed to get an accurate sample. This is why 529 cases were selected for this study out of 5,290 cases.

In August 2003, before the formal self-completion questionnaires were posted to the sample, seven questionnaires were completed by face to face interview as a pilot study. The questionnaire was then revised and copies were posted to the selected organisations; asking the chairperson or principal secretary to fill in the questionnaire. A copy of the final questionnaire translated into English can be found in Appendix 7. In Taiwan, either the chairperson or the executive secretary is responsible for the operation of SSCO. So they were assumed to be the people most familiar with the organisation.

Two weeks later, follow-up phone calls were made and the questionnaires were sent again to non-respondent organisations to encourage them to complete and return their questionnaires. Due to some incorrect mail addresses, there were finally only 485 organisations in the sample. By November 2003, 108 completed questionnaires had been received. Five questionnaires were invalid. So there were 103 valid questionnaires for analysis, with a final response rate of 21.3%. This was regarded as satisfactory in the light of earlier researcher experience. For mailed surveys, response rates can vary between 10 and 50 per cent (Neuman, 2000), but Bernard (2000) points

out that response rates of 20% to 30% can be expected from mailed questionnaires. The response rate for the study was therefore within the expected range.

4.6.1.2 Quantitative data collection tool and data analysis

The self-completion questionnaire (see Appendix 7), which was derived from the literature review, was the tool for quantitative data collection. Quantitative data collection by questionnaire uses survey techniques to describe respondents' opinions and collect facts. Surveys give researchers a picture of what people think or report what they do. In this research, the questionnaire consisted of four parts: background about the organisation; the relationship between the organisation and government; the role of the organisation within the social welfare context; and details about the respondent.

For the first part of the questionnaire, question topics such as organisational service, employees, volunteers, the board, annual revenue and expenditure were adapted from the Johns Hopkins Comparative Non-profit Sector study which was conducted in many countries (Kendall and Knapp, 1996; Kuti, 1996; Yamamoto, 1998). In addition, and to reflect the Taiwanese situation, the researcher also asked questions about which level of government the organisation registered with and when the organisation was established. For the second part of the questionnaire, questions were asked about the impact of the abolition of Martial Law on organisational establishment, the relationship between the organisation and government, whether the organisation receives funding from government and what kind of role the organisation expects government to play. As for the third part of the questionnaire, the research aimed to collect information through questions like the role of the organisation in social service

provision, what the organisational goal(s) is/are, organisational contribution to democracy, and the influence of institutional factors on organisational role. The final part of the questionnaire was about the background of the respondent.

After, coding and data entry from the 103 valid completed questionnaires, the data were analysed using the Statistical Package for the Social Science (SPSS). Different statistical methods are used to analyse different types of variables (Pagano, 2004). For the nominal data, frequency distribution was the main statistical concern and Chi-square method was used to test whether relationships existed between two nominal variables. As for continuous variables, their central tendency such as mean was the first statistical consideration. In addition, t test was used to test the difference in means between different types of SSCOs.

In order to make sure that non-respondent organisations had not distorted the sample structure and created bias, the researcher first compared the data on the level of government with which SSCOs registered to the data on the 'National Survey of the Activities of Occupational and Social Associations' (Department of Statistics, Ministry of Interior, 2004). In this study, 69.9% SSCOs registered with county governments, 14.6% SSCOs registered with provincial government, and 15.5% SSCOs registered with central government. The data from the national survey on social associations (SSCOs are part of social associations), showed that 71.3% of social associations registered with county governments, 13.2% of social associations registered with provincial government, and 15.5% of social associations registered with central government. The sample structure of this study is thus very similar to the national survey. In addition, the researcher also compared other data on organisational background such as membership and full-time and part-time staff. The findings of this

study are very similar to the findings of the national survey. Therefore, it was confirmed that the non-response bias in this study was limited and that further analysis of the study data was justified.

The quantitative data analysis provided not only statistical profiles of Taiwanese SSCOs but also ideas for conducting the following qualitative data collection. In the next subsection, the process of qualitative data collection is described.

4.6.2 Qualitative data collection

4.6.2.1 Qualitative data collection process

Qualitative data were collected between December 2003 and February 2004. Guidelines for semi-structured interviews were developed following the analysis of the quantitative data and six pilot interviews were conducted. After the semi-structured interview guidelines were revised, the formal interviews started.

Qualitative research does not aim to generalise research findings but to present meaning and varieties of the phenomena which the researcher is interested in (Ritchie and Lewis, 2004; Silverman, 2000). Therefore, qualitative inquiry typically focuses in depth on relatively small samples, selected purposefully to study information-rich cases and to yield insights and in-depth understanding rather than empirical generalisations (Patton, 2002: 230). Thus, finding information-rich respondents is one of the key tasks in qualitative research.

For this research, interviewees were accessed in two ways: those who were willing

from amongst the questionnaire respondents; and snowball sampling. At the end of the questionnaire, respondents were asked whether they were willing to be interviewed. Four interviewees were obtained from questionnaire responses. A snowball sampling method was used to select the remaining interviewees, asking the advice of informants who could suggest appropriate respondents (Creswell, 1998: 119). University lecturers with close links to SSCOs or experienced chairpersons or executive secretaries of SSCOs, were asked to make recommendations. Patton (2002: 245) points out that in qualitative inquiry *'the validity, meaningfulness, and insights generated from qualitative inquiry have more to do with the information richness of the cases selected and the observational/analytical capabilities of the researcher rather than with sample size'*. As a result, and considering organisational type, spread of activities and geographical areas, time and money, 25 key informants from different SSCOs were eventually interviewed. Of these 17 interviewees were from social service organisations. Those interviewees who were from SSOs are labelled as 'A' in the analysis and the 8 interviewees from charitable organisations are labelled as 'B' (see Appendix 8).

4.6.2.2 Qualitative data collection tool and data analysis

An interview guidelines document was the tool of qualitative data collection in this study. Semi-structured interviews were used as the main method to collect the qualitative data.

The key advantage of qualitative interviews over a mailed self-completion questionnaire is that it can provide answers to the 'why' questions rather than just the 'how many' or the 'how often' questions (Stroh, 2000: 198). In semi-structured

interviews, the guidelines for the interview are prepared in advance before conducting face-to-face interviews with key informants. This is different from a survey interview in many ways. The semi-structured interview involves asking questions, listening, expressing interest, and recording what was said, and might also involve a mutual sharing of experiences. A researcher can share his or her background to build trust and encourage the informant to open up, but does not force answers or use leading questions. The focus of the semi-structured interview is on the interviewee's perspectives and experiences. In order to stay close to the interviewee's experience, the researcher may ask questions in terms of concrete examples or situations (Stroh, 2000).

In this research, the semi-structured interview guidelines (see Appendix 9) were also based on the literature review and comprised three main themes: the background to the organisation, including questions such as the historical foundation of the organisation, organisational goal(s), the main service of the organisation, and membership; the organisational environment, including questions such as the public expectation on the organisation, how to gain more public support and organisational contribution(s); and the organisational relationship with government, including questions like whether the organisation receives a delegated social service programme or funding from government and what the interaction with government looks like. The interview guidelines included questions which were also asked in the mailed questionnaire. In this way the qualitative data was used to check the reliability of the quantitative data and to provide in-depth answers to some of the questions in the questionnaire.

After the qualitative data were collected, the interviews were transcribed word by

word in Mandarin. Qualitative data analysis is about analysing the narrative, context and discourse of interviews and trying to find the meanings from interviews (Ritchie and Lewis, 2004). The transcripts were then read again and again by the researcher and the qualitative data were analysed step by step. According to the procedures of qualitative data analysis (Neuman, 2000; Ritchie, Spencer and O'Connor, 2004), initial themes and concepts were identified (see Appendix 10), the data were labelled, summarised and synthesised. Finally, qualitative answers and explanations to the research questions were drawn out.

In order to ensure the accuracy of the translations of interviews from Mandarin to English, 'back translation' was used (Brislin, Lonner and Thorndike, 1973; Budhwar, 1999; Manaster and Havighurst, 1972; Sperber et al, 1994), a method which has been widely used in cross-cultural research. Back translation involves two translations. The researcher translates from the original language and then asks bilinguals to translate the second language version back to the original language. If the 'back translation' is the same or similar to the original, then the accuracy of the translation is confirmed. In this study then, eight quotations from interviews, which had been translated into English by the researcher, were randomly selected and two bilinguals were asked to translate the quotations back into Mandarin. Then the translations were compared with the original text of interviews. The translations of the interviews which were 'back translated' by bilinguals were found to be very similar to the original texts and the validity of the translations was therefore confirmed.

Since the process of semi-structured interviews involve interaction between researcher and interviewees, the researcher's role, presuppositions and interests can influence how the qualitative data is collected and interpreted. Therefore, it might be

useful to point out the researcher's position and role in this study is described and why the researcher wanted to conduct the study is expected. These issues of 'reflexivity' are discussed in the next section.

4.7 Reflexivity in the qualitative part of this study

Under the influence of natural science approaches especially positivism, social science used to use objective, distant, detached and systematic approaches to research. In doing so, quantitative researchers overlooked how researchers themselves influence the outcome of their research (Gergen and Gergen, 1995). Unlike quantitative researchers, qualitative researchers take into account the subjectivity of the researcher (Flick, 2006:16). This is especially important because many qualitative researchers are interested in research topics which have significance in their own life experience. For example, Harris points out that her family and her own experiences of involvement with third sector organisations, have affected her academic research on third sector organisations (Harris, 2001a). For this reason, self awareness from researchers about the research process has become a very important issue for qualitative researchers. This process of self examination in qualitative research involves a specific activity - reflexivity.

The term reflexivity is used in a wide variety of ways. However, essentially, reflexivity presupposes that when one says something about the 'real world', one is simultaneously saying something about oneself (Pels, 2000: 2). The basic meaning of reflexivity in research refers to the activity in which *'researchers adopt a third-party viewpoint on their own research activities: they treat themselves, as it were, as research subjects in their own research'* (Gomm, 2004: 240). Patton points out that

'reflexivity reminds the qualitative inquirer to be attentive to and conscious of the cultural, political, social, linguistic and ideological origins of one's own perspective and voice as well as the perspective and voices of those one interviews and those to whom one reports' (Patton, 2002: 65).

In a methodological sense, reflexivity implies a process of self-reflection on the researcher's own stance. It can be a critical inspection in which researchers reflect on how to access their research informants and consider how their personal and theoretical commitments shape research outcomes (Schwandt, 2001:223-224). Thus, reflexivity involves not only presenting openly theoretical perspectives which the researcher holds, but also the influence of the researcher's self and perspectives on the interaction with research subjects and research process.

In practice, Wilkinson suggests that reflexivity in research can involve three different but related forms: a personal aspect which refers to the impact of researcher's interests and attitudes on the research process; a functional aspect which relates to the interaction between researchers and research participants; and a disciplinary aspect which involves theory and method employed in research (Wilkinson, 1988). The researcher practised reflexivity following Wilkinson's categories and the researcher of this sub-section uses the personal pronoun 'I' accordingly.

As to the personal aspect of reflexivity, I think my personal experience and academic training have had an important influence on this research. Before moving to study social science, I studied botany for two years as an undergraduate and received a lot of natural science training such as doing experiments, controlling variables and being

objective. Because I did not like spending so much time in the laboratory and I wanted to do something with people for my career, I transferred to the child welfare department to start my social science study. After I finished my first degree, I continued to do social welfare and social policy for my Masters degree. Thus, my academic training has been influenced by both natural and social science thinking. I believe that the research methods of natural and social science both have their own strengths and that is the reason why I adopted a mixed methods approach for this study.

After I started my social science study, I participated in a volunteer group which provided services for patients in a hospital and since then I have been involved in a lot of volunteer training programmes as a lecturer. I also participated in some membership associations as a member which aroused my interest in TSOs. After I obtained my Masters degree, I worked in central government as a researcher on social welfare issues and in the United Way of Taiwan as an Executive Secretary. During these experiences, I noticed cooperation problems in social service provision and became interested in issues of division of labour between government and TSOs. From my work experience, I know that both government and TSOs have their strengths and weaknesses. All these experiences provided the foundation for my academic research interests and the conduct of this research.

Moreover, this study involved questions related to politics such as the impact of Martial Law on the establishment of SSCOs. I am aware that the interpretation of the data might have been influenced by my political views. Therefore, I have tried to prevent my personal political view from influencing the data interpretation too much.

Regarding the functional aspect of reflexivity, I think the influence of Chinese culture on the qualitative research process should not be ignored. One of the significant cultural features in Chinese society is respect for authority. When I entered the field to collect my qualitative data, I introduced myself and was recognised by interviewees as a PhD student which in Chinese society means a well educated person with the authority of knowledge. During interviews, some of my interviewees repeatedly asked me whether they were giving the right answers or not. Those of my interviewees who had received my lectures for staff working in TSOs, were especially worried that I would make judgements about their responses. I had to keep telling them that there was no right or wrong answer but only opinions. The situation of skewed power between researcher and participants was very evident in my research.

On the other hand, some senior interviewees, who had worked for TSOs for a long time, did have a lot of expert knowledge of TSOs. According to Chinese custom, I had to approach them in a very humble manner. I was also aware of the importance of common ground between myself as the researcher and some interviewees; for example we had friends in common, or had graduated from the same school. Some interviewees were recommended by friends who teach in universities. All these factors influenced the course of the interviews; often making it easier to access people and their organisations because of the 'face and favour' custom in Chinese society.

Reflexivity provides an opportunity for me to look back at why I wanted to do this research. I also became aware of the existence of my own possible biases in the qualitative part of this research.

With regard to the disciplinary aspect of reflexivity, as explained in Chapter Three,

this study is theoretically informed by organisation behaviour theory; specifically new institutional theory. This choice was made after full consideration of other possible theoretical frameworks (e.g. economic and political theories) but I am aware that I was especially attracted to new institutional theory because I thought it allowed me the opportunity to take into account cultural features which might be especially important in studying TSOs in Taiwan.

4.8 Research contributions and the limitations of this research

4.8.1 Research contributions

There are not many research studies which focus on the growth of TSOs and their involvement in social service provision, especially social service and charitable organisations, within the Taiwanese social welfare context. So this research will, in the first place, help to fill the knowledge gap. Second, many Taiwanese academics have used theories developed in Western countries to examine third sector organisations in Taiwan, so very few theories of TSOs have been developed which specifically relate to Taiwanese society. This research was therefore a pioneer study in this respect. Third, this research was intended to provide an explanation for cooperation between the government and third sector organisations in social service provision in the past three decades; so contributing to social policy debate in Taiwan. Fourth, this research offers third sector organisations empirical evidence of how they might operate in Taiwanese society and interact with government. Fifth, since Taiwan is a Chinese society, the findings are applicable to some extent to the situation of third sector organisations in other Chinese societies.

4.8.2 Research limitations

The limitations of this research can be discussed from two different perspectives: the quantitative perspective; and the qualitative perspective.

As regards the quantitative perspective, although the response rate to the survey (22%) must be regarded as satisfactory (see section 4.6.1.1) some caution must clearly be exercised in generalizing the findings to the whole population of SSCOs in Taiwan. Caution must also be exercised in applying the findings to other kinds of TSOs in Taiwan such as foundations.

As regards the qualitative perspective, there are limitations arising from the need for translation. The interviews were conducted in Mandarin and then translated into English. Since the meaning of language is embedded in a cultural context, some translated passages may not mean the same to an English-speaking reader as they did to the original speaker. For example: an interviewee said that they had to be very careful about spending money because the money comes from public donation. The translation word by word from Mandarin is as follows:

'We have to be very clear about spending a penny...'

However, 'spending a penny' in English could mean paying to use a public toilet and could convey a very different meaning to a British reader.

Conversely, some interviews could not be translated perfectly into English because an exact equivalent of the meaning in Mandarin could not be found. For example: an

interviewee told me that to educate the public to participate in public affairs was one of the organisational aims. However, the translation word by word from Chinese to English is as follows:

'...The main aim of our organisation is to educate society to participate in public affairs actively and voluntarily. Through our intervention in the community, we hope the voices, which come from communities, can be heard. ...'

Therefore, even though I tried to translate the interviews accurately into English, consulting my supervisor and English colleagues again and again, and despite the checks I made using 'back translation' (section 4.6.2.2), some sentences might still be slightly different from their original intended meanings. However, I am confident that the essential meanings are not distorted in the translation.

4.9 Chapter Summary

This chapter has set out the philosophical considerations underpinning this research and why a mixed methods approach was adopted. Then the practical sampling and data collection processes of both the quantitative and qualitative research were described. Finally, the contributions and limitations were also discussed. The research findings are presented in the next three chapters.

Chapter Five

'Social Service' and 'Charitable' Organisations in Taiwan: Their Characteristics

5.1 Introduction

'Social service' and 'charitable' organisations (SSCOs), as categorised by the Taiwanese government, form the majority of 'social associations' in Taiwan. Many of them are actively involved in social service provision and cooperate with government at different levels. However, up to now, there have been no basic data to map the features of those organisations and how they function. The only relevant data, which is collected by the Ministry of Interior Affairs periodically, is the national survey of the activities of occupational and social associations (Department of Statistics, Ministry of Interior, 2004). That survey not only collects data on SSCO's but also data on other types of membership associations like occupational, academic and cultural, medical and health, religious, athletic, international, and economic affairs organisations. It does not separate the data on SSCO's from other occupational and social associations. Thus, it reveals general information on membership associations but provides no details about SSCO's specifically.

Basically, all SSCO's provide social services. Although they have many common organisational features, they also differ in a number of ways.

Taiwanese people generally refer to organisations which voluntarily provide traditional social services such as poverty relief, as 'charitable organisations'. But nowadays, more and more people call organisations which provide social services 'social service organisations'. In fact, the term 'charitable organisations' (CO) existed

in Taiwanese society well before the term 'social service organisations' (SSO). After contemporary social welfare and social work knowledge was introduced to Taiwan by universities' social work departments in the 1970s, people began to be familiar with the ideas of professional social services and started using the term SSO to represent organisations providing social services.

Officially, the government puts the two different types of organisations, SSOs and COs, into the same category without explicit definition. Taiwanese academics usually treat them as an integrated group without differentiation as well. However, according to the qualitative data generated for this study, the two types of organisations not only possess common organisational characteristics but also have significantly different features. Although the main aim of this chapter is to explore the features of SSCOs, the researcher is also interested in the differences between SSOs and COs. Therefore, the first part of this chapter (section 5.2) distinguishes between COs and SSOs.

The second part of this chapter (section 5.3 and 5.4) maps SSCOs using quantitative and qualitative data. Regarding the quantitative data, it maps the general characteristics of SSCOs from the view point of SSCOs themselves. The important features of SSCOs in Taiwan are sketched out in terms of their organisational types, backgrounds, founding members, membership, administration and supervision boards, employees, volunteers, revenue and expenditure. Those features are mainly traced from the quantitative data. As to the qualitative data, basically it expands on the quantitative findings.

5.2 The distinction between 'social service' and 'charitable' organisations

In Taiwan, SSOs and COs are the two terms which are widely used by practitioners and academics to depict organisations which voluntarily provide social services. People might have implicit criteria to distinguish them in their mind, but there is no formal statement to distinguish the two types of TSOs.

However, according to the qualitative data, SSOs and COs have many distinct features not only in terms of their names but also in terms of their practical organisational operation. COs are usually called 'charitable' or 'philanthropic' but terms like these are not used by SSOs. Therefore, in the first place, the two organisational types can be distinguished by their names. They also have quite different operational methods and values for providing their services. In the last thirty years, contemporary social work ideas have been introduced to Taiwanese society through religious organisations such as the Christian Children's Fund (CCF) and through social work education in universities. More and more TSOs, especially SSOs, adopted those methods to operate their organisations and deliver services. However, in order to encourage ordinary people to participate in their voluntary activities and donate money, many COs have kept their traditional way of providing their service which is poverty and emergency relief based on money giving. Traditional COs are increasingly distinguishable from contemporary SSOs. This does not mean that SSOs are superior to COs but it does mean that they function differently and meet different users' needs in Taiwanese society. The next section sets out the features of COs.

5.2.1 Charitable organisations

5.2.1.1 The ideology of COs

Traditional COs existed in Taiwanese society before SSOs. Their activities mainly emerged from their cultural context; the combination of Confucian ethics, Buddhist benevolent concepts, and the popular mass concept of 'merit accumulation' (Ting, 1998:117). Lin has pointed out that traditional Chinese social philanthropy is grounded in the Confucian concept of 'jen' (仁), which refers to love of others (Lin, 1990: 144). 'Reward to society' and 'merit accumulation', which reflect people's implementation of jen, are two important concepts for members who establish COs and participate in their organisational operation.

This was reflected in the qualitative data:

A secretary of a CO stated:

... the leader of our founding members was a painter, who grew up in a very poor family. His mother passed him a traditional injunction of his family that since he has ability he should help others in need. (Secretary, B8)

Therefore, the leader established the organisation to accomplish his mother's injunction and meet traditional social expectations of philanthropy. This behaviour of helping people has been emphasised as a traditional Chinese value. It mainly comes from Confucianism and is also deeply grounded in Chinese moral concepts.

In another CO, the interviewee pointed out:

...Doing philanthropic activities can accumulate merits. Many people have this kind of idea in their mind generally. (Executive secretary, B4)

Merit accumulation is seen as not only giving benefits directly to the people who help others, benefits can also transfer to the service provider's family. This conception has an important impact on Chinese philanthropic activities especially in religious voluntary organisations based on Buddhism and mass popular religion in Taiwan. Hsiao (2000) pointed out that many Taiwanese still prefer to donate money to religious voluntary organisations. This situation is possible influenced by the idea of 'merit accumulation'.

A traditional CO could be considered as a group of people who possess benevolent ideas about helping other people. Implementing their benevolence through organisational services is an important motivation for participating in COs.

5.2.1.2 Poverty and emergency relief by COs

Chu thought that the traditional Confucian concept of benevolence is related to the poverty problems in Chinese society (Chu, 1993:124-125). Traditional Chinese society was an agricultural society and poverty was one of the most serious social problems. If people gave assistance to others who were in poverty, they could be identified as moral people by their behaviour. It also signified that they had a more successful life than others. This gave wealthy people a moral status or higher social position in Chinese society. It also gave general encouragement to people to accumulate merit to improve the position of their families. These traditional social values might explain the reason why poverty relief service has been always the main

service provided by COs. The following statement may be typical of many COs:

...the main service programmes of our organisation are poverty relief, a funeral service for poor people and holding spiritual lectures, ...We did try to provide different services such as youth services, but our members, especially senior members, told us 'you might be able to develop different service programmes, but you cannot stop providing poverty relief service, otherwise we won't donate any money'. (Executive secretary, B3)

Poverty or emergency relief appeared from the data to be the foundation and core service for COs, because poverty has been recognised as a fundamental problem in Chinese society. Some COs have been gradually adopting contemporary social work ideas to provide social services, but they still keep providing poverty relief or similar services as well. Under the influence of contemporary social work professionalism, some of them increasingly try to use professional social work methods to provide services and to improve their service quality. This is reflected in the following statement from an interviewee:

The initial aim of our organisation was to provide services for patients who are in poverty, because thirty years ago in Taiwan patients had to pay a deposit when they had to live in a hospital. ...Nowadays we still subsidize poor patients, but we also provide other social services like the elderly protection service which is delegated to us by the government. (Executive secretary, B6)

Even though modern social work knowledge is affecting the operation of some COs, they still keep their organisational traditions to maintain their legitimacy with their members and to encourage members to continue to donate money.

5.2.1.3 Memberships as important resources for COs

Membership is key factor for COs. Not only do members' donations provide an important income source for COs; members also provide human resources for COs which enable them to provide services and deal with administration. This is reflected in the following statements:

At the moment, we have more than eight hundred members, and they have increased in numbers slightly in recent years. ... Last year, our annual expenditure was around 1.2 million new Taiwanese dollars. Most of the money came from members' monthly donation. We don't have a penny comes from government. (Executive secretary, B4)

Many COs encourage their members to donate money every month and they call the donation 'merit money' (公德款). This suggests that people can accumulate merit by donating money.

Since COs generally have few full time workers (see Table 5.7), they often rely on enthusiastic members or volunteers ('executive members') to deal with matters including beneficiaries such as interviewing potential beneficiaries. Services such as emergency relief are mainly based on providing money to their service users. So untrained members or volunteers can easily participate in this kind of service provision. Therefore, members are very important human resources for COs.

Take poverty relief for example, when we receive the applications for our poverty service no matter whether from members or non-members, our executive members will go to interview the cases on the 17th of every month and give them some money. (Secretary, B1)

Generally speaking, these enthusiastic members and volunteers are not professional social workers. For many COs, providing an organisation for charitable people to implement their philanthropy is more important than developing professional methods to provide services.

Since the Taiwanese government provides social assistance to people whose living standards are below the poverty line, most COs cannot apply successfully for government funding to undertake their poverty relief service. In fact, COs are rarely funded by government unless they can provide other services which are included in the list of items which accord with government policy.

In short, the qualitative data suggests that COs have three distinctive features: they usually use 'charitable organisation' or 'philanthropic organisation' in their organisational name; poverty relief is their traditional and principal service programme; and members are their principal financial and human resources.

These features together constitute the basic conception of COs in Taiwan.

5.2.2 Social service organisations

In contrast, the existence of contemporary SSOs is more related to industrialisation, urbanisation and people's awareness of welfare rights in Taiwan. People started to use organisational power to help themselves to deal with their problems and to sustain their welfare rights when government was giving these matters little attention. Even though those organisations have also been affected by traditional ideas, they are more concerned with issues of social justice and contemporary social problems than with

traditional charitable poverty relief.

5.2.2.1 Contemporary social problems as the organisational focus

The following statement from the secretary of a SSO illustrates how the aim of the organisation is very different from most COs.

...The main aim of our organisation is to educate people to participate in public affairs actively and voluntarily. Through our intervention and services in the community, we hope the voices which come from communities will be heard. ... (Secretary, A15)

...In 1988, we knew very little about the genetic disease of Downs syndrome. At that time, for Downs patients' parents, we didn't have enough medical or educational information about Downs children. Therefore, we organised this association and tried to get more information and to help each other. (Executive secretary, A4)

Public participation, community education and mutual aid are the major concerns of the leaders and workers of most SSOs nowadays. Those leaders and workers are also gradually developing different images of TSOs in Taiwanese society through their ideas and services.

5.2.2.2 Governmental funding as an important income resource for SSOs

Not only organisational aims but also income resources of SSOs are different from those of COs. If SSOs want to operate with stable and sufficient income, they need to be able to write professional proposals which meet the requirements of government regulations. Applying for governmental funding rather than collecting money from members' donations is the main funding skill required.

One interviewee explained:

We are running some special projects which are funded by governments... Last year, the annual expenditure was three million new Taiwanese dollars. Of this expenditure, one third came from governments; half the expenditure was service fees and the rest were donations from the church. (Chairperson, A12)

Another interviewee said:

Last year, we got three million new Taiwanese dollars from governments by proposing projects and receiving programmes delegated from governments. Governmental grants constituted three quarters of our income, and we have very few private donations. (Chairperson, A7)

SSOs generally apply for governmental funding under the 'Social Welfare Services Subsidy Regulations' which are issued by the Ministry of Interior. The regulations clearly formulate the application process and what kind of service will be funded with how much money.

5.2.2.3 Membership meets legal requirements for establishment of a SSO

Unlike the case of COs, members' donations are not the main income source for SSOs, even though members do have to pay an annual membership fee. But SSOs are under less pressure to recruit members in order to provide their organisational income. In fact, for many SSOs, memberships are only necessary to help them to get a legitimate status and to register with government.

An interviewee explained:

30 funding members are one of the requirements to establish a social

association, according to the Civil Association Act. The membership helps an association to get a legitimate status. (Executive secretary, A8)

Another chairperson pointed out:

...we have around 80 members. ...The only requirement for them to join our organisation is that they have to agree with our organisational aims. Basically, they only need to pay a registration fee and nothing more. ...eighty percent of our income is from government. (Chairperson, A10)

Some SSOs do have a lot of members, but the members of those SSOs are usually service users rather than the donors of income. This applies for example to patients' groups and mutual-aid groups.

One interviewee explained:

Our organisation is an elders association. If people are living in this area and over 65 years old, they can join our organisation. Now we have 670 members... We provide them with a funeral service, some tourist trips... (Executive secretary, A5)

The key features of SSOs can therefore be summarised as follows: social justice and social problems are the main concerns of SSOs rather than traditional poverty relief and usually they adopt contemporary social work knowledge to provide their services; governmental funding are their most important income resource rather than members' donations; and members are usually their service users or supporters rather than income or human resources.

Comparing the features of COs with the features of SSOs, we can make a comparison as shown in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1 Comparison between COs and SSOs

Organisational Type	CO	SSO
Organisational Name	Usually put 'charitable' or 'philanthropic' in their names	Don't put 'charitable' or 'philanthropic' in their names
Organisational Emergence	Reflects traditional ideology	Reflects contemporary social problems
Service	Mainly provide poverty and emergency relief	Provide various social services
Dominant Value	Personal moral virtues	Social justice
Membership Size	As many as possible	Usually smaller than COs
Membership Function	Income and human resource; supporters	As a requirement to get legitimate status; service users
Income Resource	Mainly from members' and public donation	Government funding is increasingly the main resource

5.3 Mapping 'social service' and 'charitable' organisations—quantitative data

According to the analysis in the last section, SSOs and COs function differently in terms of services, fund raising and organisational operations. Therefore, the quantitative data analysis, in the first place, will differentiate COs from SSOs according to their names and main services as suggested by last section. The comparison between SSOs and COs continues in this section in terms of their membership, employees and annual income and expenditure.

5.3.1 Organisational types

According to name and main service, the organisations studied can be classified as in

Table 5.2. Leaving aside two organisations which did not answer about their main service, among the 101 remaining respondent organisations, 78.2 per cent were SSOs and 21.8 per cent were COs.

Table 5.2 Organisational Types

Label	Frequency	Valid Percent
Social service organisation	79	78.2
Charitable organisation	22	21.8
Total	101*	100.0

* 2 missing cases

The figures suggest that SSOs are more numerous than COs in Taiwan. They also suggest that nowadays there are more organisations involved in providing various social services than poverty or emergency relief.

5.3.2 Governments which SSCOs register with

According to the Civil Association Act (see section 1.4.1), legal TSOs have to register with different level of governments in terms of their service area. National membership associations need to register with the Ministry of Interior Affairs, provincial associations with the Department of Social Affairs of Provincial Government, and the municipal and county associations with the city or county governments.

The service area of a national SSCO could theoretically cover the whole of Taiwan and they can apply for funding directly from central government which controls most social service budgets and funding nowadays. However, a 'local' SSCO registered with a provincial or county government can only serve a specific local area, usually a

county. According to the survey, most SSCOs register with county governments rather than with central government. Table 5.3 shows that in 2003, 15.5 per cent SSCOs surveyed registered with central government, 14.6 per cent registered with a provincial government, and 69.9 per cent registered with county governments.

Table 5.3
The Level of Government which SSCOs Registered with

Label	Frequency	Percent
central government	16	15.5
provincial government	15	14.6
county government	72	69.9
Total	103	100.0

Among the respondents, SSCOs registered with local governments were more numerous than SSCOs registered with central government. As mentioned in section 4.6.1.2, these findings are very similar to those of the national survey of occupational and social associations (Department of Statistics, Ministry of Interior, 2003).

This phenomenon of registration levels could cause a serious problem in social service provision. Local SSCOs exist all over Taiwan and are more accessible to ordinary people but they have limited support from local governments, because local governments possess relatively few resources compared with central government. If local SSCOs want to apply for funding from central government, according to the ‘Social Welfare Subsidy Regulation of the Ministry of the Interior Affairs’ (section 1.7), they have to submit their proposals to local government first and then local government transfers their application to central government. National SSCOs, however, which are less numerous than local SSCOs, can submit their applications for funding directly to central government. National SSCOs have advantages then, over

local SSCOs in terms of access to financial resources.

5.3.3 Membership

As mentioned earlier (section 5.2), there are significant differences between SSOs and COs, and membership is one of them. For COs members are not only their supporters but also their source of income. Moreover, many people who participate in activities run by COs, not only aim to help people in need but also to achieve a moral or spiritual purpose. As a result, COs generally try to maximise their membership numbers. In contrast, membership is not a prime concern for SSOs. This is reflected in Table 5.4

Table 5.4 Mean of individual membership

Organisational type	Frequency	Mean of the individual membership
Social service organisation	71	296.96
Charitable organisation	21	386.57
Total	92*	317.41

*11 missing cases

Sig. of the mean of individual membership=0.251>0.05

This table shows that the average membership in 'social service' and 'charitable' organisations is quite different. The average number of members in a CO is about 386 persons but it is about 297 persons in a SSO.

Even though the difference does not have statistical significance, the figures do reflect similar findings to the qualitative data of this research. That is, COs usually have more members than SSOs do.

5.3.4 The administrative board and supervision board

Essentially, the conditions and processes to establish a national or a local membership association are the same in Taiwan. However, the limitations on board size are different for membership associations which register with different levels of governments. The number of members of an administrative board for a national association cannot exceed 35 persons; the limit for a provincial association is 25 persons, and 15 persons for a county association. The Civil Association Act also requires that, in addition to the administrative board, every association has to set up a 'supervision board', the number of members of which cannot exceed one third of the administrative board, to monitor the organisational operation by the administrative board in terms of objects achievement and audit.

In Taiwan, many TSOs try to recruit celebrities, people with high social position or reputation, to their board. TSOs can raise more money by using the reputation of celebrities; also, those celebrities can promote the reputation of the organisations and themselves. However, this mostly applies to national organisations, because celebrities are not usually interested in participating in local TSOs.

Table 5.5 indicates that on average, national SSCOs have more members on both their administrative and supervision boards than do local SSCOs. This phenomenon is attributable to the legal requirement of the Civil Association Act. It means that national SSCOs possess more advantages than local SSCOs in terms of human resources and the ability to fund raise.

Table 5.5

Number of members of administrative board and supervision board

Registration government level	Frequency	Mean of the administrative board	Mean of the supervision board
Central government	16	20.38	6.31
Provincial government	15	14.80	4.67
County government	72	11.50	3.72
Total	103	13.36	4.26

a. sig of the administrative board =0<0.05

b. sig of the supervision board=0<0.05

5.3.5 Human resources of SSCOs

Generally speaking, the employees of SSCOs, whether full-time or part-time staff members, are limited in numbers. This reflects the fact that most SSCOs are small size organisations. As to full-time staff, COs have significantly less full-time staff than SSOs. And SSCOs registered with central government have more full-time staff than those organisations registered with local governments (see Table 5.6).

Table 5.6 Mean of full-time employees in SSCOs

Government level	Organisation type	Mean	N
central government	social service organisation	2.62	13
	charitable organisation	.00	1
	Total	2.43	14
provincial government	social service organisation	1.78	9
	charitable organisation	1.25	4
	Total	1.62	13
county government	social service organisation	1.00	50
	charitable organisation	.35	17
	Total	.84	67
Total	social service organisation	1.39	72
	charitable organisation	.50	22
	Total	1.18	94

s ig = 0.03<0.05

In addition, full time administrative staff is more numerous than full time professional social workers in most SSCOs. Even though both SSOs and COs have few employees, SSOs still have more workers than COs no matter whether administrative staff or professional workers (see Table 5.7).

Table 5.7
Full-time administrative staff and professional social workers

Organisational type	Mean of full-time administrative staff	Mean of full-time professional social workers
Social service organisation	0.96	0.43
Charitable organisation	0.41	0.05
Total	0.83	0.34

a. sig of full-time administrative worker = 0.059 > 0.05

b. sig of full-time professional worker = 0.032 < 0.05

As to part-time staff, both 'social service' and 'charitable' organisations have very few. Neither 'social service' nor 'charitable' organisations have any part time professional workers at all (see Table 5.8).

Table 5.8 Mean of part-time employee in SSCOs

Organisation type	Mean of part-time administrative staff	Mean of part-time social workers
Social service organisation	0.41	0.00
Charitable organisation	0.30	0.00
Total	0.39	0.00

a. sig of the part-time administrative = 0.49 > 0.05

In contrast with the paid staff position, volunteers are heavily involved in both 'social service' and 'charitable' organisations. With COs especially, which lack paid staff, volunteers are a very important resource for dealing with administrative matters.

According to this research, every social service and charitable organisation has around 20 volunteers on average (see Table 5.9), but charitable organisations involve more volunteers than do social service organisations.

Table 5.9 Mean of volunteers in SSCOs

Organisation type	Mean number of volunteers
Social service organisation	17.96
Charitable organisation	24.95
Total	19.52

This result is consistent with the qualitative findings that many COs use their members or volunteers to do interviews of their services users and to provide services for them.

5.3.6 Sources of revenue

Many SSCOs not only have few paid staff but also have limited revenue. On average, the revenue of each SSCO was \$1,180,338.13 new Taiwanese dollars (see Table 5.10) equivalent to around 36,000 US\$ in 2007.

Table 5.10 Annual revenue

Registration government level	Mean of annual rev.	N
central government	1824359.30	10
provincial government	1481285.18	11
county government	1030328.45	65
Total	1180338.13	86*

unit = new Taiwanese dollar (US dollar: new Taiwanese dollar=1: 33 in 2007)

*17 missing cases

By revenue, then, most SSCOs have a limited budget and are small size organisations. However, SSCOs which register with central government have more annual revenue than the organisations which register with either provincial or county governments. It is clear that SSCOs which register with central government have not only more human resources as shown earlier but also higher annual revenue.

Looking into the details of income, private giving accounts for around 29 per cent of total income, government funding for around 25 per cent, and registration and membership fees for around 24.5 per cent (see Table 5.11).

Table 5.11 Mean of revenue by source for all SSCOs

Sources of income	Mean	Percentage
Private giving	333651.69	29.11
Government funding	287338.33	25.07
Registration and membership fee	280762.34	24.49
Other income	137087.88	11.96
Earned income	107351.65	9.37
Total	1146203.66	100.00

However, taking organisational type into account, gives a very different result (Table 5.12). Generally, SSOs have a high proportion of government funding whereas for COs their main source of income is from their members. Income from government funding accounts for only a very small proportion of COs' total revenue. Some interviewees from COs mentioned the national economic condition as an important factor affecting their income. For example, economic decline in recent years, has affected their income from member donations.

Table 5.12 Sources of revenue for SSCOs

Organisation Type	Income from government	Income from private giving	Earned income	Registration and membership fees	Other income
Social service organisation	371096.13 32.57%	312676.66 27.44%	120690.77 10.59%	206109.76 18.09%	128920.35 11.31%
Charitable organisation	67418.95 6.15%	316401.95 28.85%	57717.24 5.26%	525999.71 47.97%	129019.43 11.77%

a. sig of income from government = 0.037 < 0.05

b. sig of income from registration and membership fee = 0.002 < 0.05

5.3.7 The expenditure of SSCOs

Comparing organisational expenditure with revenue, annual expenditure is slightly higher than annual revenue in SSCOs. According to Table 5.13, service provision is the main expense of both 'social service' and 'charitable' organisations and staff salaries are the second main expense.

Table 5.13 Expenditures of SSCOs

Items of expenditure	Mean	Percentage
Service provision	707174.90	54.30
Staff salaries	326555.43	25.08
Office operation	188022.91	14.44
Other	80488.15	6.18
Total	1302241.38	100.00

unit = new Taiwanese dollar (US dollar: new Taiwanese dollar=1: 33 in 2007)

A possible explanation for annual expenditure exceeding income in many SSCOs was provided by interviewees. They explained that they thought unspent income and accumulation of funds in SSCOs was seen as an invitation to misuse the funds; it was therefore preferable to spend up to the very limit of income each year (This is

explained further in section 6.4.2 on Financial transparency and accountability).

5.4 Mapping 'social service' and 'charitable' organisations—qualitative data

5.4.1 The backgrounds of SSCOs

Traditionally, philanthropic activities were organised by upper class people or merchants in Chinese society. But as economies have developed, more and more people have had the financial ability to help others in need. Ordinary people have become involved in philanthropic activities more and more.

The qualitative data indicates the variety of circumstances under which SSCOs are established, ranging from individual initiative to response to government social policy. Looking across the 25 cases studied at the qualitative stage, five broad backgrounds can be identified: religion-based organisations; mutual-aid organisations; government-encouraged organisations; philanthropic organisations; and profession-based organisations.

First, religion appears to be an important factor in the initial establishment of many SSCOs. But although they may have a religious background, interviewees said their organisations were established to provide social services, rather than for religious observance:

This organisation was founded in the district of Siao-Gang in Kao-Hsiung city twenty six years ago. In the area, there was a Temple of Mercy Buddha; this organisation was established by 44 believers. ...we did not register with government until 1994 (Executive secretary, B3)

...the founding members were all believers in I-Kuan Tao. (Executive secretary, B4)

Our association was founded in January 2000. Our members are Christians, who are our supporters or work on youth services with us, from my church. ...Although we are Christians, we don't impose any religious regulation on our organisational constitution. Our organisation aims to serve all people irrespective of their race or background. (Chairperson, A12)

Second, there are organisations established by people who have suffered a similar problem; they are like mutual-aid organisations. People in these organisations support each other, share their experiences and campaign for their welfare rights. They believe that organisation is more powerful than individual effort.

...At that time, some deaf children's parents thought we don't have an organisation to specially serve deaf children in this county. Therefore, 30 parents founded this organisation. (Executive secretary, A16)

Third, public officials sometimes encourage people to organise an association to help government tackle social problems. Here is an example from an interviewee:

...Because the Ministry of Interior Affairs hoped that volunteers associations would be founded in every county, the previous director of the Department of Social Affairs in this city ...asked me to invite some of the social elites to organise this organisation to train volunteers. (Executive secretary, A11)

Fourth, doing philanthropic activities is highly valued in Chinese society. Thus, when people have the ability to help others in need, many of them wish to do so. It is not terribly time consuming but people admire their ethical behaviour. Thus, some SSCOs

owe their foundation to people's virtue. One interviewee said, for example:

...Regarding women, many women have compassion and want to offer service to society. Therefore, we organised them to establish this women's association.
(Executive secretary, A14)

Fifth, some SSCOs are established because of professional pressure. Members of professions sometimes also organise SSCOs, or they help or guide people to establish SSCOs. This type of organisation tends to be more professional in its running than other types of SSCOs, because they are based on professional ideas. The following is an example:

...At that time, in Chang-Hua Education College, there was a Professor Lin. He was an expert in special education. He thought parents' participation is a very important concept in special education. Therefore, he called together some parents he was in contact with through a special education class, to get them to set up an organisation.... (Executive secretary, A8)

The background of SSCOs' establishment is thus varied. Different initial factors affect their establishment. Different histories can generate different organisational cultures and influence organisational operation.

5.4.2 Membership

Generally speaking, COs have more members than SSOs—a point suggested by the qualitative data as well as by the quantitative data. Among the eight COs whose leaders the researcher interviewed, six of them had more than 500 members. Conversely, except for the mutual-aid SSOs and SSOs which serve disabled people, the members of SSOs whose leaders were interviewed mostly numbered less than 200.

The reasons for the difference have already been discussed in section 5.2. However, there is another interesting phenomenon, which only occurred in some of the SSOs; they deliberately kept their membership at around 50. These SSOs usually had a very strong and/or charismatic leader. Those leaders were usually the main founding members of their organisations as well. Such leaders do not want to recruit too many members; they fear that members will have too much influence and will deflect the original organisational goals.

A founder interviewed said:

Generally speaking, we don't open our organisation to the public. We only want to maintain our membership at around 50 to 60 ... because the more members we have, the more difficulties we will have in undertaking our programmes. Too many opinions!!...Annual Projects of a membership association have to be agreed by the annual meeting of all members ... Because we just established this organisation, actually most members are my good friends. (Chairperson, A7)

Another founder interviewed said:

Now we have around 60 members. We are not eager to recruit more members....We want to operate our organisation as a semi-closed organisation. When we provide a lot of successful services, some people might try to exploit our resources. When that happens, we will lose our initial service goals. Consequently, I don't want too many members. (Chairperson, A12)

It appears, then that SSCOs do not all follow democratic rules. Some leaders want to use organisational power to achieve their own personal goals rather than work in a more democratic way.

5.4.3 Members' participation and contributions

In theory SSCOs are established with free will by a group of people. But in Taiwan, motivation for participation in an SSCO is commonly affected by interpersonal relationships. Founding members of a SSCO often ask their friends or relatives to join their organisation, even when the founding of the organisations is based on religious belief, personal merit or other motives. Mostly, people will not reject an invitation to participate because they do not want to harm their relationships and they do not want to be regarded as unfeeling or unconcerned.

For example:

... many members are our friends or relatives. Therefore, members may approve of or support our goals. Even though some don't know or approve of our goals, they still join us because of personal relationships. (Ex-chairperson, A6)

...We had three principal initial founding members. They all lived near each other and were classmates. They came together with their friends and classmates to found this organisation and recruited more and more members gradually. Initially, friends and relatives are definitely important members of a membership association. (Chairperson, B2)

Personal relationships, then, play an important role in recruiting people to participate in SSCOs. Many people who participate in SSCOs do not really support organisational goals but are supporting relatives or friends in the organisation. This could explain why SSCOs have a relatively low rate of member participation according to interviewees.

...In general in membership associations, members rarely participate actively

in organisational operation.... In our organisation, except for some fund raising events, members do not get involved in organisational affairs. (Executive secretary, A2)

Members' active participation is rare. Even for the annual meeting, if we don't mobilise them, probably only a few members will come. (Executive secretary, A9)

As mentioned previously, for COs, members mainly contribute their money to organisations and some of them help organisations as volunteers. For SSOs, most of their members do not get involved in organisational affairs. Members of SSOs give only spiritual support and very little financial support. But members do give SSOs a legal position and they vote for the board. Two interviewees of SSOs thought that their members make no contribution at all:

They get an organisation established and give the organisation a legal position.... But we [workers] use the organisation to achieve our goals. This is absolutely reality. (Executive secretary, A8)

The essential contribution of members is to give us spiritual support and to donate money continuously. (Executive secretary, B5)

One interview added:

I feel they come to the organisation only when they need you. In my opinion, they make no contribution. (Executive secretary, A16)

Among SSCOs, membership of COs appears to be more important than membership of SSOs in terms of their contributions. Many COs regard members as resources, but SSOs generally think of members just as the essential requirement for them to

establish a legal association.

5.4.4 Organisational leadership

According to the Civil Association Act, the meeting of all members is the highest authority body of a membership association for making any organisational decision. Between meetings, the administrative board acts on behalf of the whole membership and delegates to staff to implement decisions passed at the members meeting. In order to maintain organisational operation, membership associations mostly rely on the board, staff, and volunteers to undertake the various organisational tasks. Because most membership associations usually have few staff and a low rate of membership participation, different types of governance have been developed; as is discussed in this section.

In both SSOs and COs, boards are the essential body for organisational operation. A limited paid staff, usually including an executive secretary, also plays an important role in running the organisation. Volunteers usually play a supplementary role in organisational operation. Examples from the interviews of leadership in practice include:

...Most organisational affairs are undertaken by me [executive secretary], the chairperson, and another secretary. The members all agree with our decisions and services. (Executive secretary, A5)

...The board usually will help with the organisational tasks, but most tasks mainly still rely on me [executive secretary] to undertake. (Executive secretary, A16)

...Our volunteers and boards help to deal with our organisational tasks a lot.
(Executive Secretary, A3)

According to the qualitative data, three different types of leadership can be distinguished: leadership based on the board; leadership based on the chairperson; and leadership based on the executive secretary or chief secretary. Examples of each type follow:

Leadership based on the board

I feel our organisational decisions are based on elitist discussion in our organisation. ... More recently, although the boards still decide everything mainly, I find the professional suggestions from the paid staff have been taken into account more and more. (Executive secretary, A1)

Regarding this leadership type, the direction of organisational operation and services is decided by the board (usually the administrative board). Paid staff usually implement what has been decided by the board. This model reflects in practice the underlying assumptions of the Civil Association Act i.e. the formal legal position.

Leadership based on the chairperson:

... Our organisational decisions are made by the administrative board, but mainly by our chairperson. When we elect a new chairperson, the direction of our organisation will be changed. For example, our previous chairperson wanted to focus on professional youth service, but after the new chairperson was elected, he had different ideas, and the service direction has changed again.
(Executive secretary, B3)

In Chinese society, high position or senior status is generally respected. In this

leadership type, the chairperson usually has personal charisma and is respected by members because he or she has the highest position in the organisation. The board usually follows the chairperson's opinions. Therefore, organisational operation is mostly decided by the chairperson.

Leadership based on the executive secretary:

... Our service programmes mostly were developed by me (executive secretary). I always observe where people need our service, and then I will design and create new services. (Executive secretary, A11)

Due to the shortage of full-time staff, many SSCOs are run by an executive secretary who is often the only full time staff member. The executive secretary is usually the most committed person and the most familiar with organisational operation in a SSCO.

5.4.5 Financial resources

The quantitative data showed that SSOs and COs have different sources of income. The main income source of SSOs is governmental grants and contract, but the main income source of COs is members' donations. The qualitative data were consistent with the quantitative data in this respect. In the interviews, almost all COs were reported to have no or little income from governments, except for one CO which had a programme delegated from government and had 50 per cent of its income from government. In fact, some COs, especially those that do not ask members to donate money every month, also hope to get financial support from governments because they think governmental financial resource will enable them to be more sustainable.

This is an interviewee who is chairperson of a CO:

... Our expenditure was 1,800,000 Taiwanese dollars in the last year....Only around 100,000 Taiwanese dollars came from government....We hope we can get more financial support from government. We really spend a lot of money every year. Because the economic situation is not very good recently, we cannot obtain more donations. Consequently, I think we have to depend on governmental funding. (B2, Chairperson)

By contrast, SSOs usually make funding applications to government and they generally have more than 30 per cent of their income from governments. However, there are some SSOs that are starting to think about being independent from governmental financial support. The following case is from an executive secretary of a SSO:

In the last year, we had two thirds of income from governments. ...From the view point of an organisation, we hope our organisation can be independent in terms of finance. If we are not able to be independent from government, we could just work for governments, and there would have been no need to establish this organisation. (A9, Executive secretary)

Some SSOs are becoming aware that organisational autonomy could be an important issue for them in the future. They are also concerned about their interaction and relationships with governments; a topic which will be discussed further in Chapter Seven.

5.5 Chapter summary

The findings on features of Taiwanese SSCOs can be summarised as follows:

Quantitative data:

1. Over 78 per cent of the SSCOs studied were social service organisations, and around 70 percent of the SSCOs were local organisations.
2. SSCOs which register with the central government possess more advantages in terms of human resources and income than other organisations. This is linked to provisions of the Civil Association Act, which gives different regulations about the number of members of the administrative and supervision boards for organisations which register with different levels of governments.
3. In general, COs have more members than SSOs, because they are run in different ways. Members' donations are the main source of income for COs, but SSOs get more money from government for service provision.
4. Usually both SSOs and COs have few full-time staff. Among the full-time staff, most of them are administrative workers rather than professional social workers. Volunteers become an important alternative human resource to enable SSCOs to provide their services. Organisations which registered with central government have more full-time staff than the other SSCOs.
5. On average, SSOs and COs have around 36,000 US\$ for annual revenue or expenditure. SSOs have significantly different funding than COs. Government income is the most important income for SSOs, but registration and membership fees are the most important income for COs.

Qualitative data:

1. SSCOs in Taiwan were established in different ways. More and more ordinary people (not just upper class people or social elites) participate in SSCOs. However, personal networks still play an important role in organising a membership association.
2. Membership participation rates are low in both SSOs or COs. As a result, organisational operation relies on boards, paid staff or volunteers. Different types of leadership occur in SSCOs. These were identified as leadership based on the administrative board; leadership based on the chairperson; and leadership based on the executive secretary.
3. SSOs and COs have different main income sources. Governmental financial support leads to relative stability. However, there are some SSOs which have started to think about the issue of independence from governmental financial support.

In the next chapter, the growth, roles and contributions of SSCOs are discussed.

Chapter Six

Filling the Services Gap: Growth, Role and Contributions of 'Social Service' and 'Charitable' Organisations

6.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to provide empirical data to explain why SSCOs have grown rapidly since the late 1980s, what role(s) SSCOs are playing and why they play the role(s), what contributions SSCOs can provide for Taiwanese society and how SSCOs can develop their organisations in the future and obtain public support. Therefore, this chapter discusses four main issues as follows.

First, since the late 1980s there has been rapid growth in the number of TSOs in Taiwan especially 'social service' and 'charitable' organisations. According to existing theories which were mostly developed in Western countries, the situation can be explained using the two different approaches which were discussed in Chapter Three: the social service provision approach and the civil society revival approach. In addition, Taiwanese academics have also adopted Western theories from a political perspective and have argued that the demand for civil society and the abolition of Martial Law in 1987 explains the rapid increase of Taiwanese TSOs (section 3.3.1). The quantitative and qualitative data of this study will, then, be used to explain the aims of SSCOs' establishment and the impact of Martial Law on the establishment of SSCOs.

Second, because TSOs exist in different combinations of institutional environments in different countries, TSOs play different role(s) to respond to their environmental

demands. TSOs in Taiwan also exist in the unique Taiwanese institutional environment and the environment also put demands on SSCOs. A particular issue is that traditional Chinese ideologies related to Confucianism still have an important impact on the role and operation of SSCOs (section 1.3). The influential factors on the role of SSCOs and on the operation principles of SSCOs are therefore also discussed.

Third, according to findings in Western countries, TSOs do not only deliver public services. They also generate social capital and promote national democracy (see Chapter Three). However, whether the contributions of SSCOs in Taiwan are similar to those of TSOs in Western countries needs to be examined.

Fourth, in order to be sustainable, TSOs have to find out how to secure social acceptance and public support for future.

This chapter, then consists of five main sections: the growth of SSCOs (section 6.2); the role(s) and operational principles of SSCOs (section 6.3 and 6.4); the contributions of SSCOs (section 6.5); the future direction of SSCOs (section 6.6); and the summary of this chapter (section 6.7).

6.2 The rapid growth of SSCOs since the late 1980s

According to the empirical data, the emergence of Taiwanese SSCOs is mainly accounted for by the wish to fill the services gap left by government. The research findings reflected a very different picture from previous academic arguments because the rapid growth of SSCOs cannot be explained as the product or by-product of Taiwanese democratisation or the demand for civil society. The abolition of Martial

Law might explain the rapid emergence of political associations and social movements, but it cannot explain the expansion of all TSOs in Taiwan especially the growth of SSCOs. The findings on this matter will be set out in the following sub-sections.

6.2.1 Accounting for the establishment of SSCOs in Taiwan—quantitative and qualitative data

6.2.1.1 The quantitative findings

In general, the aim of establishment of SSCOs in Taiwan has been to promote social services and to assist government to fill the gap in social services (see Table 6.1). The essential goal of SSCOs is to provide social services and this is the major reason why they are established.

Table 6.1 Goals of SSCOs' establishment (multiple choice question)

Label	Promote peoples' welfare	Assist government	Advocate to establish a comprehensive welfare system	Improve community spirit	Promote traditional virtues	Total
SSO (n)	65	46	37	35	24	79
Row pct	82.3%	58.2%	46.8%	44.3%	30.4%	100.0%
CO (n)	11	11	9	11	15	21
Row pct	52.4%	52.4%	42.9%	52.4%	71.4%	100.0%
Total	76	57	46	46	39	100*
Table pct	76.0%	57.0%	46.0%	46.0%	39.0%	100.0%

* 103 respondents. 3 cases did not answer this question

There is substantial difference between SSOs and COs: whereas promoting people's welfare services is the major concern of most SSOs (around 82%), promoting traditional virtues is the main goal of most COs.

6.2.1.2 The qualitative findings

According to the qualitative data, the organisational aim for most SSCOs in Taiwan is to provide social services, including responding to shortage of services and improvement of inadequate legal and policy infrastructure. Some interviewees said that their SSCOs were established to promote traditional virtues. Nobody said that the aim of their organisation was to promote political democratisation or the demand for civil society.

There were those concerned about gaps in social service provision:

At that time [the speaker was told and she referred to an organisational document], there were no organisations providing services for prisoners' families. Our founders said 'we have to provide the services which no one else wants to do'. Even now, we are still the only organisation providing this kind of service. (Executive secretary, A2)

We found [speaker himself was told by founders] many poor people nearby, but government did not give them enough assistance at that time. We thought we can use organisational power and raise some money to help them. Thus, we established this association. (Chairperson, B2)

Others were concerned about legal and policy infrastructure:

...before we established this organisation, 24 local organisations were established to provide services for children with low IQ. They found the legal system and government policy did not work well. This drove us to establish this national organisation to advocate for amending the relevant laws and policy. [speaker was told by founders] (Executive secretary, A1)

Some were motivated by personal religious belief or personal virtue:

I [speaker himself was one of the founders] graduated from a theology college of Christianity. I was influenced by the principal of the college very much. ...He told students that 'a priest has to do social work'....The establishment of this association has a very strong connection with my personal experience.
(Chairperson, A12)

The qualitative findings are consistent with the quantitative data. According to the qualitative data also the emergence of Taiwanese SSCOs was driven by the wish for social services provision and to establish better social policy infrastructure. This is rather different from ideas in Western social policy literature about responding to welfare state crises or about demands for civil society. These findings also tend to question earlier arguments that the expansion of SSCOs in Taiwan was attributable to the abolition of Martial Law.

6.2.2 The impact of Martial Law on the establishment of SSCOs—quantitative findings

It is undeniable that the abolition of Martial Law in the 1980s was a remarkable achievement for the Taiwanese democratic process. The rights to comprehensive freedom of speech, association, and publishing were restored to people. But did the abolition of Martial Law lead to the expansion of Taiwanese SSCOs? And in what way did Martial Law affect the establishment of SSCOs? The quantitative and qualitative findings suggest some answers to these questions.

Since Martial Law was abolished in 1987 in Taiwan, the SSCOs were divided for the study into the two subgroups which were established in or before 1987 or were

established after 1987. The two subgroups of SSCOs were asked the question ‘would you say that martial law restricted the establishment of your organisation?’ or the question ‘would you say the abolition of martial law encouraged the establishment of your organisation?’ The answers about the restriction or encouragement of Martial Law on organisational establishment were not significantly different between the SSOs and COs.

Table 6.2
Views about whether Martial Law restricted the establishment of SSCOs which
were established in 1987 or before

Item	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
disagree strongly	9	42.9	42.9
disagree	2	9.5	52.4
neither agree nor disagree	5	23.8	76.2
agree	2	9.5	85.7
agree strongly	3	14.3	100.0
Total	21	100.0	

Twenty one of the total 103 respondents were from SSCOs established before the abolition of Martial Law. More than 50 per cent of these 21 respondents said that Martial Law did not restrict the establishment of their organisations, whereas around 24 per cent thought it had. Around 24 per cent of the respondent organisations did not provide their opinion on this question (see Table 6.2). This might be because discussing political matters is still not comfortable for some people in SSCOs (see further discussion in section 6.4.2).

Seventy six survey respondent organisations were established after the abolition of Martial Law. Around 58 per cent of them disagreed with the idea that the abolition of

Martial Law encouraged their organisational establishment, and around 25 per cent of them agreed with it (see Table 6.3).

Table 6.3
Views about whether the abolition of Martial Law encouraged the establishment of SSCOs which were established after 1987

Item	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
disagree strongly	39	51.3	51.3
disagree	5	6.6	57.9
neither agree nor disagree	13	17.1	75.0
agree	7	9.2	84.2
agree strongly	12	15.8	100.0
Total	76	100.0	

Consequently, irrespective of whether SSCOs were established before or after the abolition of Martial Law, more than half of the respondents did not think that Martial Law had restricted or encouraged the establishment of their organisation. However, around a quarter of them did think Martial Law restricted or encouraged the establishment of their organisation. More details on the different opinions were provided by the qualitative data.

6.2.3 The impact of the abolition of Martial Law on SSCOs—qualitative findings

6.2.3.1 Findings from interviewees of organisations established before abolition of Martial Law

Many interviewees of those organisations which were established before Martial Law was lifted indicated that when their SSCOs were established the influences of Martial Law were not considered. Providing social services was the main reason why most of

them were established. Martial Law was a restriction only for people who wanted to establish political organisations or organisations in opposition to the government.

An executive secretary [one of the founders] stated:

Our organisation was established in 1981 and was registered with the government in 1993.... Actually, our purpose in establishing this organisation was that we really wanted to provide social services. Whether Martial Law existed or whether we could get tax exemption was not what we considered. Thus, we were providing our services when Martial Law existed, but we did not register with government until 1993. This was not because of the abolition of Martial Law but because of environmental demands and in order to apply for government funding. (Executive secretary, A3)

Similarly, a former chairperson [he was one of the founders] of an organisation which was established in 1985 said:

There was no link between the establishment of our organisation and Martial Law. In fact, when Martial Law still existed, there were already a lot of social organisations. If you are asking, whether the growth of TSOs was a response to the abolition of the Martial Law, I think its effect was not so influential. (Previous chairperson, A6)

An interviewee of an organisation which was founded in 1977 suggested that economic factors rather than lifting of Martial Law might be the cause of growth of TSOs in Taiwan:

I [a senior worker in this organisation] think there was no link between our organisational establishment and Martial Law. ...In my opinion, the expansion of TSOs in the 1980s was because of the dramatic growth of the Taiwanese economy. People's income increased a lot. Thus, people had surplus capacity to help others, and helping people is a virtue for Chinese people. (Executive secretary, B6)

Another chairperson whose organisation was founded in 1982 said:

I [the speaker was told by founders] think there is no link. Martial Law mainly restricted people involved in political opposition. Our organisation is a charitable organisation. We were not concerned about Martial Law. All that we have done is related to charity. The principle of our organisation is that we do not touch any political or religious affairs. (Chairperson, B2)

Those interviewees, who did not think their organisational establishment was affected by Martial Law, pointed out that their organisations only focused on social services provision and that they were not involved in any political affairs. Therefore, their organisational establishment was not affected by the implementation of Martial Law. Some of them thought the growth of the Taiwanese economy might be the main factor which drove the rapid growth of Taiwanese SSCOs from the late 1980s.

However, one interviewee pointed out that Martial Law did have some negative impacts on their organisational establishment. The organisation was founded in 1983 but registered with the government in 1986. The secretary [the speaker is a senior member of the organisation] said:

Initially, we just wanted to do some charitable work and we did not register with the government. After a period of time, there were more and more people who wanted to join us. Therefore, we were thinking about establishing a legally recognised organisation. However, there already existed one organisation which provided service similar to ours. Therefore, it was not very easy to establish a social association when Martial Law still existed. At that time, a government official told us that it might be easier to register with the government if our organisation could provide special social services. (Secretary, B8)

Under the regulations of the Civil Association Act during the Martial Law period, organisations could not register if they had the same purpose and were providing the same service as another organisation registered at that level. Consequently, many organisations existed before the abolition of Martial Law, but without registration. Martial Law restricted their ability to register, but Martial Law did not stop them from establishing organisations to provide social services. Moreover, the restrictions were not due to Martial Law directly but to its implication for the Civil Association Act which regulated membership associations including SSCOs.

6.2.3.2 Findings from interviewees of organisations established after the abolition of Martial Law

Most interviewees of organisations established after Martial Law was lifted, also thought that the establishment of their organisations had no link with the abolition of Martial Law. They also said their organisations were established mainly for providing social services.

One executive secretary [the speaker was one of the founders] said:

There is no link between our organisational establishment and the abolition of Martial Law. We knew nothing about the Civil Association Act. The abolition of Martial Law was not the reason why we established our organisation. The main reason for the establishment of our organisation was insufficient services for disabled people. The abolition of Martial Law just gave people freedom and convenience to associate together. It did not encourage people to establish organisation. (Executive secretary, A8)

Another interviewee [the speaker is a senior worker of this organisation] said:

The reason for the existence of our organisation was to provide services for people in this county not because of the abolition of Martial Law. We had our service ideas and then we established this organisation. (Secretary, A15)

A chairperson [the speaker was one of the founders] whose organisation provides youth services said:

I think no link. The establishment of our organisation followed social trends. When we were young, we did not have any social organisation and there was no one to do voluntary services. (Chairperson, A10)

Those interviewees who did not think there was a connection between their organisation's establishment and the abolition of Martial Law, thought social services provision was the major reason for the establishment of their organisation. All the same, many interviewees thought that the abolition of Martial Law created an environment which enabled people to freely associate. The abolition also made it easier for people to establish a membership. This was seen as the more indirect link between the abolition of Martial Law and the establishment of SSCOs. For example:

In my opinion [the speaker is a senior worker of this organisation], I don't think there is a direct link but there is some connection. Some parents' groups did exist in the time of Martial Law, but the rapid growth of parents' groups happened after the abolition of the Martial Law. The restrictions were relaxed. Therefore, many TSOs could be established in a short time. (Executive secretary, A1)

I [the speaker was one of the founders] think there are some connections. ...Before the abolition of Martial Law, there were also a lot of TSOs which were providing services for disabled people. But they could not campaign and develop social movements to raise the awareness of the media or the public. (Executive secretary, A9)

One interviewee thought that the abolition of Martial Law indirectly encouraged some people to establish TSOs as a personal instrument to accumulate personal wealth and build up their own reputation:

I think there are some connections. After the abolition of Martial Law, SSCOs grew up very fast. I think there are two reasons: first, people used organisations as a tool to benefit themselves or extend their personal network. Second, people could use a TSO to build up their charitable reputation as a benefit to their political career or business. (Chairperson, A7)

Thus the abolition of Martial Law in Taiwan did remove some restrictions which could have affected organisational operation and the establishment process of TSOs. However, it is too simplistic to use the abolition of Martial Law on its own to explain the rapid growth of TSOs since the late 1980s. Many organisational interviewees thought that their organisational establishment had no link with the abolition of Martial Law in 1987.

6.3 The roles of SSCOs within the social welfare context in Taiwan

TSOs play different roles in different countries. TSOs may play a significant role in political affairs such as promotion of democracy in one country but play a critical role in social service provision in another country. Within a country, some TSOs might aim to participate in political affairs and other TSOs might only focus on service provision. The roles TSOs play within a country really depend on national context and tradition. What kinds of role do SSCOs play in Taiwan? This section presents data related to this question.

6.3.1 Quantitative data on the role of SSCOs in Taiwan

One multiple-response question in the survey asked about the role of SSCOs. Apart from two organisations which did not answer the question, 79.6 per cent of the 101 organisations responded that their main role was being a social service provider; 52.4 per cent said that they played the role of social values protector and 38.8 per cent played the role of social service initiator (which is also related to service provision). Only 31.1 per cent of organisations said that they also played a role of social policy advocate (see Table 6.4). Basically, therefore, the main role of SSCOs in the Taiwanese social welfare context is as a service provider.

Taking organisational type into account, most SSOs and COs responded that the role of social service provider is their main role. However, over 36 per cent of SSOs said that they also play the role of social policy advocate, whereas only 14 per cent of COs did so.

Table 6.4 The roles of SSCOs in Taiwan (multiple choice question)

Label	Social services provider	Social values protector	Social service initiator	Social policy advocate	Total
SSO (n)	61	46	33	29	79
Row pct	77.2%	58.2%	41.8%	36.7%	100.0%
CO (n)	19	8	7	3	22
Row pct	86.4	36.4%	31.8%	13.6%	100.0%
Total	80	54	40	32	101*
Table pct	79.2%	53.5%	39.6%	31.7%	100%

* 2 missing cases

The qualitative data give more details about these roles.

6.3.2 Qualitative data on the role of SSCOs in Taiwan

Most SSCO interviewees indicated that their organisations were playing a supplementary or complementary role to government. They wanted to help government to provide social services which were not provided, or were not provided sufficiently, by government.

Some SSCOs said that they play the role of social educator. Only one SSO interviewee said that their organisational role was as a social policy advocate.

The role of social service provider

Most interviewees of SSCOs thought that the obligation and role of their organisations was to help government to provide social services. One interviewee even said that their organisation was happy to be a subordinate agent of government in the provision of social services.

Regarding our role and function, we position ourselves as a service provider to supplement the services which government do not provide sufficiently and to improve the services which government has provided. (Executive secretary, A9)

... Regarding welfare services regulations, governmental welfare provisions usually set up criteria for beneficiaries or do not provide sufficient services. We think the function of third sector organisations is to remedy the deficiencies in governmental service provision. What government need us to do, we will do it all. ...We don't think we have to do what government asks, but we also think that what government asks us to do is alright. (Secretary, B8)

For us, we are like the subordinate agent to government, and we help government to implement social service provision. According to the resources that government can give us, we provide our services.... (Chairperson, A10)

One chairperson pointed out that governments have numerous difficulties in successfully implementing social policy by themselves. Therefore, collaboration between governments and third sector organisations could be a reciprocal benefit between government and third sector organisations.

Our governments do not want to increase human resources, but there are more and more social welfare services which need to be provided. Thus, governments have to delegate service provision to third sector organisations. ...Sometimes, third sector organisations have to follow government social policy and this enables them to survive. If we follow social policy, we get the opportunity to receive government funding. (Chairperson, A7)

SSCOs in Taiwan appear basically to act as a provider to assist government to provide social services and deal with social problems. What factors influence SSCO to take this role? The qualitative data in section 6.4 provide some answers to this question.

Social educator

Some interviewees thought their organisational main function was as a social educator; to maintain social values, promote community spirit or improve community relationships.

A chairperson said:

Our voluntary services are a good example. We educate people to participate in our organisation and to devote their care to society. We hope we can improve the quality of community spirit, promote community education, and help our

society become a mutual help society. (Chairperson, A12)

Another said:

I think education is our main contribution. ...We use our services to educate people, and then they can influence others as well. (Secretary, A15)

One interviewee explained:

We ask people to donate money to help poor people. Actually, it is an invisible education process. We exchange our ideas with people. We tell them that even a small amount of money can help a lot of people when the money accumulates together. We can educate people while we are providing services. (Executive secretary, B7)

Thus many SSCOs not only provide social services but they also use their services provision to educate people. They hope that as many people as possible will participate in social service provision and that, in this way, the whole society will become better and better. Therefore, even though SSCOs have been influenced by their institutional environments including social values, they also promote change of social values by introducing new ideas and through their education role.

Social advocate

Only one of the interviewees thought that her organisation was a policy advocate as well as a service provider.

Initially, we positioned ourselves in the role of advocate to press for important policies, legislation, and disabled peoples' rights. We organised disabled

peoples' parents to protect their children's rights, and we did not provide direct services...I think our government still has this kind of attitude. That is, if you advocate for some policy or service, government will delegate to you the provision of the service.... (Executive secretary, A1)

In practice, it is not easy for general SSCOs to just play the role of advocate. The role requires a lot of professional support and research and generally SSCOs are short of human resources and finances. Also, if SSCOs only play the role of social advocate, people might think they are creating social turbulence without doing anything practical. Moreover government tends to ask advocate organisations to provide services. Therefore, there are few SSCOs which play the role of social policy advocate only.

6.4 Factors influencing the role of SSCOs in Taiwan and their operational principles

As mentioned in the last section, Taiwanese SSCOs play different roles in order to meet different social needs and expectations. SSCOs have to follow principles which are generated by their environments, and those principles affect their organisational roles as well as their contribution to Taiwanese society. In this section, quantitative and qualitative data is presented to show what and how environmental factors affect the role of SSCOs in the first place. And then, the operational principles of SSCOs are presented to supplement the explanations.

6.4.1 Factors influencing the role of SSCOs in Taiwan—quantitative and qualitative findings

Basically, the role of TSOs is institutionalised by environmental factors in a country. Environmental factors affect organisational operation (see section 3.4.2 on the

conceptual approach to this study).

6.4.1.1 Quantitative findings

The roles played by S SCOs in Taiwan are affected by a variety of factors. But irrespective of the role they play, their survival is the major challenge they face. The role and operation of most SSCOs are affected to a large degree by economic conditions and government funding policy.

A multiple choice question in the survey showed that the first three factors which most affected the role of SSCOs were the economic situation, social policy, and traditional social values. 76.7 per cent of SSCOs said that economic factors affected their role; 58.3 per cent of SSCOs said social policy affected their role; and 44.7 per cent of SSCOs said that traditional social values influenced their role (see Table 6.5).

Table 6.5 Factors perceived to affect the role of SSCOs in Taiwan (multiple choice question)

Label	Economic factors	Social policies	Traditional social values	Political factors	Cultural factors	Legislation	Other factors	Total
SSO (n)	60	52	33	21	17	15	2	79
Row pct	75.9%	65.8%	41.8%	26.6%	21.5%	19.0%	2.5%	100.0%
CO (n)	18	8	12	6	3	4	0	22
Row pct	81.8%	36.4%	54.5%	27.3%	13.6%	18.2%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	78	60	45	27	20	19	2	101*
Table pct	77.2%	59.4%	44.6%	26.7%	19.8%	18.8%	2.0%	100.0%

* 2 missing cases

There were some differences between the perceptions of SSCO and CO

representatives. The economic situation was the most important factor affecting the role of both SSOs and COs. Following the economic situation, SSOs saw social policy as the second most powerful factor influencing their role but for COs it was traditional social values. The qualitative data give more details of how economic factors, social policy and traditional values may affect the role and operation of SSCOs.

6.4.1.2 Qualitative findings

From the qualitative data, the reasons which might explain the role of SSCOs can be categorised into 'external influences' and 'internal operational principles of SSCOs'. For the external influences, economic conditions and government funding regulations issued by the Ministry of Interior Affairs about funding to TSOs to provide social services have important impacts on the role which SSCOs play. In recent years, the Taiwanese economy has had a downturn and this has affected people's donations to TSOs and therefore the income of SSCOs in Taiwan.

An executive secretary said:

The general economic environment has been very bad recently. Some of our members have become unemployed. Therefore, our income and operation have been affected by the economic environment. (B3, Executive secretary)

In addition, social service subsidy regulations governing SSCOs applications for government funding are complex. Because government funding is such an important income source for many SSCOs, especially for SSOs, many SSCOs have to follow the regulations and cooperate with government if they want to receive government funding.

A chairperson says:

...The Ministry of Interior Affairs issued the funding regulations, which list a lot of services and encourage third sector organisations to apply for funding. This leads third sector organisations to play the role of social service provider.
(Chairperson, A17)

As for internal operational principles, traditional Chinese values have always impacted on SSCOs, especially COs. SSCOs possess their own values affected by Chinese ideologies and have to respond to social expectations about following authority and creating a harmonious society. In line with these traditional ideologies, they are also expected to help government to provide social services.

6.4.2 The operational principles of SSCOs in Taiwan

The principles most emphasised by SSCOs in Taiwan, according to the data, are ‘public interest or charitable image of organisation’, ‘harmonious organisation’, ‘financial transparency’, ‘accountability’, ‘professional performance’, and ‘non-involvement in political or religious affairs’.

The public interest or charitable image of organisation

TSOs in Taiwan are seen as public interest or charitable oriented organisations by the wider society. Therefore, the operation of TSOs has to be in line with social values and expectations.

One interviewee said, for example:

We have to tell the public that what we advocate or campaign for is beneficial for the public or the whole society, not just for disabled people. We have to give the impression of our organisation as being for general public benefit.
(Executive secretary, A1)

Another said:

In order to get more social resources, we have to be accepted and recognized by the public. ...We hope we give a positive image to the public. People must think that we are a group of parents who work very hard but not just to benefit their own children and themselves. (Executive secretary, A8)

Even those SSOs which are strongly professionalised still need to give the public the impression that they are working for public interest or charitable mission.

Harmonious organisation

In Chinese society, many organisations beyond the family are run as if they were families. Organisational harmony is therefore very important to SSCOs.

An executive secretary explained:

Members of an organisation should understand and get along with each other. If members of an organisation cannot cooperate with each other, outsiders will look down on the organisation. We have to build up a good impression on the public. ...A TSO is also like a family. (Executive secretary, A11)

Another interviewee said:

We like to operate our organisation like a family. Every member feels this organisation as his second family. ...Every member is tolerant and cooperates with each other; the organisational atmosphere is very harmonious, and

everyone likes to dedicate himself to this organisation (Executive secretary, B4)

Organisational harmony is very important for any SSCO, and in particular for COs, in Taiwan. Many interviewees in COs said that they like to operate their organisation like a family. That might be because good interpersonal relationships are more important than professional development for COs.

Financial transparency and accountability

Due to the public interest or charitable organisational image of TSOs, organisation should not be used for personal purposes, especially for personal financial purposes. Therefore, one of the most important operational principles for SSCOs is to always keep financial transparency. As one interviewee explained:

We have to be very clear about spending every single penny. ...Not a penny of this organisation can be used for any personal purpose. We have to spend all our money on our charitable services. (Executive secretary, B4)

An executive secretary said:

In general, if organisational finances are not transparent, people won't donate money to the organisation. And then, the organisation will decline, because people will criticise and not trust this organisation. (Executive secretary, B7)

One chairperson said:

We don't save money in our organisation....We spend all our money to provide services. Why don't we save money? Once an organisation has too much money, some people will start trying to use money for personal purpose... (Chairperson,

A12)

Professional performance and service quality

Due to the complexity of social problems in Taiwan, TSOs need to have a high degree of professionalism when dealing with social problems. This is reinforced by the fact that, in order to ensure high standards, government sets criteria to evaluate the organisational performance of TSOs annually. Being 'professional' has increasingly become essential for TSOs in Taiwan.

An interviewee said:

TSOs have to be very professional. The more professional your organisation is the more accountability the organisation will have. In these circumstances, the organisation will have more opportunities to get government support.
(Executive secretary, A4)

Another interviewee pointed out:

Professionalism is our first priority. ... We insist on keeping our service quality. ... Professional service quality and professional supervision are our most important points. Therefore, we have had a service supervision system for a long time. (Executive secretary, A2)

Non-involvement in politics and religion

Political and religious issues can easily generate conflicts between people in Taiwan. People with different political attitudes confront each other and engage in serious arguments. And many people cannot accept that other people have different political attitudes from them. There is therefore pressure to avoid discussing political or

religious topics in public.

One chairperson said:

We don't want to get involved in politics and religion because once you get involved, you will have a lot of trouble, especially political pressure. ...For religion, it is very easy to get into conflict when people discuss or compare different religions. We have to avoid it. (Chairperson, B2)

Another interviewee argued:

We need to have a basic concept; that is, that the position of a TSO should be neutral. The so-called 'neutral' position is that you can care about politics, but you don't need to discuss politics in the organisation and create conflicts. ...We don't publicise a political attitude or support any party. We only support government policy. (Executive secretary, A11)

A further example was:

We don't want to get involved in politics and religion. We won't constrain members' religious belief, but we ask members not to bring their personal religious belief into the organisation. It is very easy to arouse antipathy when people bring their political or religious belief into an organisation. (Secretary, B8)

These essential operation principles for SSCOs also reflect the demands of organisational environments.

6.5 Contributions of SSCOs to Taiwanese society—quantitative and qualitative findings

In different countries, TSOs play different roles and contribute differently to their

countries. From the perspective of welfare provision, TSOs cooperate with government to provide social services and relieve the crises of welfare states. However, from the political perspective, TSOs promote national democracy and generate social capital. According to the discussion in section 6.3 (organisational roles), the main role of SSCOs in Taiwan is as a social service provider. But the contribution of SSCOs in Taiwan can also be seen from a political perspective.

6.5.1 Quantitative findings

According to the quantitative data, 43.3 per cent of SSCOs thought that the growth of TSOs reflects the democratisation of Taiwanese society, whereas 33.8 per cent of respondents did not agree with this opinion (see Table 6.6). This implies that even though many SSCO respondents do not think the growth of TSOs is a reflection of democratisation of Taiwanese society, the impact of democratic ideas is increasingly being felt in Taiwan. More and more staff of SSCOs are aware of the influence of democratic ideas on their organisations.

Table 6.6 Respondents' view about whether the establishment of their organisations reflect democratisation trends (organisations established after 1987)

Label	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
disagree strongly	18	24.3	24.3
disagree	7	9.5	33.8
Neither disagree nor agree	17	23.0	56.8
agree	13	17.6	74.3
agree strongly	19	25.7	100.0
Total	74*	100.0	

* 4 missing cases

On the question of whether TSOs contribute to promoting democracy in Taiwan, the SSCO respondents expressed an almost even range of opinions in terms of 'agree', 'neither agree or disagree' and 'disagree' (see Table 6.7).

Table 6.7 Respondents' view about whether TSOs contribute to promoting democracy

Label	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
disagree strongly	20	20.6	20.6
disagree	11	11.3	32.0
Neither agree nor disagree	32	33.0	64.9
agree	16	16.5	81.4
agree strongly	18	18.6	100.0
Total	97*	100.0	

* 6 missing cases

It seems, then, that the question of whether or not the growth of TSOs reflects a demand for civil society in Taiwan needs further research.

6.5.2 Qualitative findings

Interviewees mostly said that third sector organisations can make a contribution to social cohesion. One interviewee said that because his organisation makes a contribution to social cohesion, more and more people are keen to join them. Another interviewee said that their organisation can organise their service users well and their service users have good interpersonal relationships. Furthermore, one interviewee said that there are more and more volunteers who participate in their organisation. This implies that their organisation and services can attract people to join their voluntary activities. Certainly, the data suggest that SSCOs are making a contribution to social

cohesion. The following statements are examples.

An executive secretary said:

On social cohesion, I think we raise money to do what we have to do, poverty relief. And we also undertake some activities to educate people to do good things. ...Furthermore, more and more people participate in our charitable work. I think that is a reflection of our contribution to social cohesion.
(Executive secretary, B3)

Another said:

I think we make a contribution to social cohesion at least for our service users. They were unorganised initially, but now they associate together.... Therefore, I think our organisation is carrying out social cohesion. (Executive secretary, A8)

A further example was given:

I think we have made a contribution to society. For example, we have a service for elderly people who are living alone. We need a lot of volunteers to participate in this service. Thus, we recruit a lot of volunteers. The service process helps people to know and learn with each other, and to accumulate power from altruism. (Chairperson, B2)

On the question of the contributions of SSCOs to the formation of civil society in Taiwan, one interviewee suggested that it is a long learning process and could not be achieved in a short time, but that TSOs could provide a channel for people to learn how to form a civil society.

I think the existence of TSOs can offer people a channel or window. ...I also think TSOs can act as an education mechanism. People can exchange their

ideas through their participation in TSOs and so develop a consensus.
(Executive secretary, A1)

Involvement in political affairs is very new experience for most SSCOs in Taiwan. Many SSCOs still keep a very conservative attitude to political matters and, in any case, such involvement would be against the organisational operational principles of most SSCOs to keep away from religious and political affairs. More time is needed before it will be possible to do more research on the development of political involvement by SSCOs and their possible contributions to the development of civil society in Taiwan.

6.6 Future development of SSCOs in Taiwan

In order to sustain themselves, TSOs have to be aware of social trends, so that they receive general public support and can plan for the further development of their organisations. In this section, the question of how SSCOs can ensure public support and develop their organisations is discussed.

6.6.1 Receiving more public support

Most SSCO interviewees said that promotion in the media and improvements in service quality were the two most important things they need to do to get more public support:

Now I am thinking about doing some advertisements, some philanthropic advertisements, and to broadcast on TV intensively. I would also like to pay a P. R. company to help us. (Executive secretary, A2)

I think there are two methods for increasing public support. First, you have to let the public see what you have done; use varied media to increase your visibility. ...Secondly, you have to do what you have to do. I will do my best to provide the best quality of services. (Chairperson, A7)

I think we have to promote our service quality and improve our professional services continuously. And then we also have to give the public our thanks and do some advertisements. (Executive secretary, A9)

In the past, and in line with Chinese values, people did not like to tell others what charitable services they provided to help people. It was regarded as a very important Chinese virtue to be humble even when helping others in need. You do not show off how successful you are. This value is called 'not letting the left hand know what the right hand is doing' (爲善不欲人知). However, in order to receive more public support and encourage more people to participate in charitable or voluntary activities and give donations, more and more SSCOs feel they have to use the media to tell people what they have done.

6.6.2 Future development of SSCOs in Taiwan

For both SSOs and COs, professionalisation seems to be the most important task for the future.

An executive secretary of a CO said:

In my opinion, we have to move in the direction of professionalising. ...Many charitable voluntary organisations have successfully transferred to focus on a single service instead of providing various charitable services. If we focus on a single service, I think we can deeply and comprehensively improve service quality. (Executive secretary, B3)

Many COs have found that other COs have gradually been transforming themselves from traditional charitable organisations into contemporary social service organisations which focus on selected social services and adopt more and more professional service methods. This trend gives other COs a model to learn from; it also puts pressure on other COs to compete or adopt the same approach. Another example of the drive to professionalism comes from a SSO interviewee:

I hope we can establish a department of research and development in the future. ... we have to provide a perspective of our future service for our users. We have to give our users future and hope. ...Therefore, we have to promote our professionalism and continuously improve the service. (Executive secretary, A8)

Reflecting the complexity of social problems in Taiwan, promoting their ability to provide better quality and more professional services is a priority for SSCOs. Many traditional COs are also thinking about moving gradually from providing a traditional charitable service to a professional service.

6.7 Chapter summary

Findings in this chapter from the quantitative and qualitative data can be summarised as follows:

1. The rapid growth of SSCOs seems to be more related to the expansion of social services than to a demand for civil society or to the abolition of Martial Law.
2. Being a social services provider is the main perceived role of most SSCOs. Some

SSCOs also play the roles of social educator and social values protector. Very few SSCO play a role of social policy advocate.

3. The economic situation is the most influential factor seen to be affecting the role of SSCO. Following the economic situation, social policy is seen as the second most important factor to affect the role of SSO; but for COs it is traditional social values. These findings may reflect the fact that SSOs are more professional than COs.
4. SSCO feel they need to follow operational principles which are affected by traditional Chinese ideologies.
5. SSCO contribute more to social services provision than to political matters. Beside social service provision, social cohesion is another important public contribution made by SSCO.
6. SSCO feel they need to actively tell society what they have done in order to gain public support. They also felt that they need to develop their professionalism in order to provide better social services in the future.

Chapter Seven

Interaction between Government and 'Social Service' and 'Charitable' Organisations

7.1 Introduction

In Taiwan, alongside the expanding involvement of SSCOs in social service provision, the relationship between government and SSCOs has become increasingly close. On the one hand, government needs SSCOs to provide social services in order to fill the service gap which cannot be met by government and relieve the shortage of human resources; on the other hand, for many SSCOs, especially SSOs, the sustainability of organisational operation and service provision relies increasingly on government funding. Therefore, this chapter focuses on interactions between government and SSCOs including the types of relationships, their mutual impacts, and how their interaction affects social services delivery.

This chapter consists of four main parts: the relationship between government and SSCOs (section 7.2); the impacts of government financial support on SSCOs (section 7.3); the impacts of SSCOs on government (section 7.4); and how the interaction between government and SSCOs impacts on the development and implementation of social policy and social service (section 7.5).

As mentioned in Chapter One, central government and local governments all supervise SSCOs according to the 'Civil Association Act' and they provide financial support to SSCOs under 'Social Welfare Service Subsidy' regulations. Theoretically then, there is no difference between central government and local government in their

interaction with SSCOs and the researcher generally does not distinguish between the levels of government in the data presented in this chapter.

Evolution of the impacts of SSCOs on

Before the abolition of Martial Law, the role of government in Taiwan in relation to SSCOs was mainly as a regulator and supervisor; clearly superior in power. The extent to which this has changed recently will be examined. Also the expectations which SSCOs, in their turn, have of government have not been explored up to now and this too will be examined in this chapter. The types of relationship which have developed between government and SSCOs are also analysed.

Within the interaction between government and SSCOs, government has increasingly played the role of financial supporter or service purchaser over the past twenty years. Therefore, the second part of this chapter focuses on the funding relationship between government and SSCOs and the impacts of government funding on the operation of SSCOs. Three important impacts of government funding on TSOs which have been identified in earlier literature, are examined in the second part of this chapter: losing organisational independence; distorting organisational mission; and organisational bureaucratization (Salamon, 1995: 104-108). The researcher also looks at the incidence of 'bureaucratic symbiosis' which was identified by Kramer (1981: 164); a relationship which can develop to facilitate smooth relationships. It has been suggested that an informal relationship between the executive leadership of TSOs and government officials can become an important factor in the interaction. As Taiwan is a society which emphasises networking, this question is of particular interest.

According to new institutional theory, organisational environments not only have impacts on organisations, they are also influenced in their turn by their interaction

with organisations (Scott, 2003:145-146). Therefore, the third part of this chapter explores not only the impacts of government on SSCOs but also the impacts of SSCOs on government. This part includes an examination of the impacts of SSCOs on government from the view point of SSCOs themselves.

Because the interaction between the Taiwanese government and SSCOs is mainly intended to meet people's needs, social policy, social service and policy infrastructure can be affected by their interaction. Therefore, the fourth part of this chapter looks at how the interaction between government and SSCOs contributes to the implementation of social services and social policies.

7.2 The relationship between government and SSCOs

The relationship between government and SSCOs was unequal for a long time since the regulatory and supervisory role of government gave it power over SSCOs. However, alongside the transformation of national democracy and the professionalism of SSCOs, the role of government and the relationship between government and SSCOs has gradually changed. Within the interaction process, SSCOs have their own views and expectations about the role of government and data on these are presented in this section.

7.2.1 The expected roles of Government in interaction with SSCOs

The nature of the interaction between government and SSCOs is affected by the expectation of SSCOs about the role of government. In answer to the multiple-choice question in the survey, most SSCOs said they expected government to help them to promote their professionalism and to be their financial supporter. 74 per cent of

responding SSCOs wanted government to help them develop their professionalism; and 72 per cent expected government to offer financial support. In addition, 54 per cent of SSCOs wanted government to coordinate SSCOs to provide social services delivery and to avoid inefficient use of resources (see Table 7.1).

Taking organisational type into account, the scenario is slightly different. Around 77 per cent of SSOs expected government to play the role of financial supporter; followed by 72 per cent of SSOs who hoped government could help them to promote their professionalism. As for COs, 82 per cent of COs hoped government could help them to promote their professionalism. These findings suggest that SSOs are more likely than COs to expect government funding and that COs are more likely than SSOs to want help from government in developing their professionalism.

Table 7.1 SSCOs' expectation of the role of government (multiple choice question)

Label	Financial supporter	Promotor of professionalism	Coordinator	Regulator	No role	Others	Total
SSO (n)	60	56	42	34	5	1	78
Row pct	76.9%	71.8%	53.8%	43.6%	6.4%	1.3%	100.0%
CO (n)	12	18	12	13	0	0	22
Row pct	54.5%	81.8%	54.5%	59.1%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	72	74	54	47	5	1	100*
Tab pct	72.0%	74.0%	54.0%	47.0%	5.0%	1.0%	100.0%

* 3 missing cases

In general, it seems, SSCOs expect a lot of support from government; financial support and encouragement of professionalism. The different types of relationship between government and SSCOs are explored in the next section.

7.2.2 The types of relationship between government and SSCOs - quantitative and qualitative accounts

Governments in Taiwan still have the right to supervise the organisational operation of SSCOs and evaluate their performance under the 'Civil Association Act'. Membership associations have to submit their meeting records periodically to the governments which they register with. Thus many SSCOs feel that they are subordinate to government rather than in a partnership, even though many official government documents (e.g. 'The Guiding Principles of Social Welfare Policy') say that the government wants to build partnerships with TSOs. As to the opinions of SSOs and COs on this matter, the researcher found no significant difference between them in their perspectives of their relationship with government. The quantitative and qualitative findings follow.

7.2.2.1 Quantitative findings

According to the quantitative data, SSCOs, which feel that they are in a subordinate relationship with government, are fairly similar in number to those organisations, which feel they are in a partner relationship with government. Around 40 per cent of responding SSCOs said that their relationship with government is mainly subordinate or close to subordinate. Thirty three per cent of SSCOs said that the relationship with government is like a partner or close to a partner relationship. Twenty five per cent of SSCOs answered that their relationship with government is neither subordinate nor partner (see Table 7.2).

Table 7.2 SSCOs' perceived relationships with government

Label	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
subordinate relationship	27	27.3	27.3
close to subordinate relationship	13	13.1	40.4
Neither subordinate nor partner	25	25.3	65.7
close to partner relationship	17	17.2	82.8
partner relationship	17	17.2	100.0
Total	99*	100.0	

*** 4 missing cases**

The qualitative data provide more details about the different types of relationship which SSCOs experience.

7.2.2.2 Qualitative findings

According to the interviews, most SSCOs feel that they have a relationship with government which is either subordinate or partnership in type. Some organisations said their relationship with government was dynamic and changed its nature all the time. Some SSCOs said that they did not in fact want to develop a relationship with government; either because their financial situation was quite independent from government or because they did not want to get involved in politics. The following examples provide explanations for the different reported types of relationship with government.

Accounts of the SSCOs which describe a subordinate relationship with government:

Some interviewees feel that they are subordinate to government because government possesses resources and administrative power, and SSCOs still have to be supervised by government in terms of organisational operation and performance evaluation:

I think all the organisations which receive government funding have a similar feeling that they are subordinate to government. When we discuss something with government, government seems superior to us, and we are like a subordinate agent not a partner. We have told government our feeling in the past years. Actually, public officials have been gradually improving their attitude. (Executive secretary, A2)

In theory, we should be like to have a partnership..., but in practice, we haven't reached that stage. The public officials are still like bureaucrats now. We still have this experience that government has money to fund third sector organisations and third sector organisations have to obey their commands. (Executive secretary, A4)

We didn't register with the government initially. After we registered with local government, we had to be supervised by government, and government evaluates our performance every three or four years. I feel they are monitoring whether we spend money properly or not. That's the way that we are interacting with government. (Executive secretary, B3)

In practice, the interaction between government and SSCOs is the interaction between public officials and workers in SSCOs. Thus, personal attitude is still an important part of the interaction. Among those organisations which felt they were in a subordinate relationship, two interviewees even used the conception of a 'parental relationship' to describe their relationship with government.

...The relationship is like between a boss and employees. They are officials and we are ordinary people. We have to respect government. Deferential people are always like this....Actually, government is like our mother. The point is if government gives us more, we cannot go against its commands. People, in our organisations, are all gentle and ordinary people. We usually obey most government commands. (Executive secretary, A5)

Another interviewee said:

Regarding the relationship with government, I would like to say it is like the relationship between father and son. Why am I saying this? Because government has money, we don't have money. Government can ask us to do things, but we don't necessarily do them. Government funds third sector organisations according to their performance. The relationship is just like what I said. (Executive secretary, A14)

Those two cases reflect a traditional interaction type between superior and inferior in Chinese society. Like parents and children, parents have the power to discipline their children, but they also have the obligation to bring up their children at the same time. The traditional Confucian values, power and financial ability, appear to play an important part in the relationship between government and those SSCOs.

Accounts of the SSCOs which describe a partner relationship with government:

If organisations have sufficient professional capacity and a deferential attitude towards working with government, this may give them the power, credit or privilege to negotiate with government. In this way a partner relationship can develop. The following illustrative statements come from two executive secretaries of SSOs which provide services for disabled people:

I think professional capacity and deferential attitude are very important in developing a partnership with government. If you wish the relationship to become a partnership, the relationship will go in that direction. If you keep asking somebody like an MP to do informal lobbying for your projects, you won't be a natural partner with government. (Executive secretary, A8)

Personally, I think it is a partnership, but I think that in this county including my organisation, only two or three organisations out of seventeen organisations which serve disabled people feel they have a partnership with government. Most of them still feel they are supervised by government. ...Attitude is very important. We cannot keep advocating or campaigning to ask government to do something for us....We appreciate what government and society have done for our organisation. (Executive secretary, A9)

According to the above statements, professionalism is very important in developing a partner relationship with governments, but a deferential attitude and good interpersonal networks with officials are also crucial components in the process.

Accounts of SSCOs which describe a dynamic relationship with government:

For some SSCOs which want to initiate or campaign for a new social policy or new services, the interaction process with government is dynamic rather than static. Those SSCOs usually have very strong professional abilities. They can use their strength to negotiate with government, influence policy making and also cooperate with government in social service provision.

I feel that the relationship is changing all the time according to the issues. It is a dynamic process....It will be changing according to the development stage of an issue and the external environments. Sometimes we are competing with government when we campaign on a welfare issue or lobby MPs to propose an Act in the Parliament; sometimes we cooperate with each other because we

found if we don't cooperate with government, government will not provide any service or implement policy. (Executive secretary, A1)

Accounts of organisations which do not want to develop a relationship with government:

In Taiwan, political views are seen as a taboo, not to be discussed in public. People avoid expressing their political views, because it could easily cause conflict between them. This taboo appears to be a factor affecting the operation strategy of some SSCOs. As mentioned in Chapter Six, many SSCOs do not want to reveal their political attitude. Furthermore, those organisations which have independent financial ability have no intention of developing a relationship with government in any case. Some interviewees thought that the main reason to build a relationship with government was to get access to government funding. If their organisations have enough independent financial support, they did not need to build a relationship with government at all.

We do what we want to do quietly. We don't have a close relationship with government. We have only a personal network with high position public officials. We have enough financial resources, so we don't need to develop a relationship with government. (Secretary, B1)

Recently government leadership has changed frequently because of the local elections every four years. If you have a close relationship with one specific party leadership of the government, people will think you are the supporters of that party. That is very bad for a social service organisation. Therefore, we don't want to have a close relationship with the government. We want to be more neutral in terms of our political attitude. (Chairperson, A10)

SSCOs usually do not want to express their political approach. Yet although, they do not like to be labelled as a supporter of one specific political party, they do not want to

lose the opportunity to get funding from government.

In the Taiwanese social welfare context, SSCOs mainly play the role of service providers, and government still has legal power to supervise SSCOs. Government also has financial resources to fund SSCOs. However, some SSCOs possess strong professional abilities to negotiate with government, so government is gradually changing its attitude to SSCOs. Both government and SSCOs have their own strengths and weaknesses.

7.2.3 Influential factors in building relationships with government

Personal networks and a deferential attitude have always been emphasised in developing good relationships between people in Chinese society. Developing relationships between organisations may be similar to developing relationships between people. According to the qualitative findings of this research, personal networks, a deferential attitude and professionalism are three particularly important factors in building a good relationship with government:

Regarding developing a relationship with government, it is very important to build a mechanism of mutual understanding. We have to report to government what we are doing. ...So, the leader of a third sector organisation also plays an important role in developing a relationship with government. ...In addition, I think we cannot only play an advocate role. We have to also understand the position and difficulties of government in terms of implementing policies. We cannot force government to undertake policies immediately. We have to give them space and time. (Executive secretary, A1)

A similar statement is given by a secretary:

Actually, developing a relationship between government and a third sector organisation is like developing a relationship between people. ...When we propose projects to government, our chairperson usually visits the officials of the departments to explain what we want to do, and we also have to keep in touch with the officials continuously. Our chairperson has a very good relationship with these officials. ...Furthermore, the image and performance of a third sector organisation are also very important. If your performance is bad, government won't delegate any projects to you. ...If a third sector organisation presents a respectful image to the public instead of an advocate role, it will be accepted easily by government and even the public. (Secretary, A15)

Thus, it is difficult to understand relationship-building between Taiwanese governments and SSCOs without taking into account traditional Chinese ideas of interaction between people. Consequently, in addition to power, professionalism and financial resources, personal networks are also a very important element in enabling SSCOs to build a better relationship with government. In addition, in Taiwan, lobbying campaigns always cause people to worry about social order; a matter which has been emphasised in Confucianism (Chang, 1989; Ku, 1997). Even though more and more people accept campaigns or even use campaigns to express their voices nowadays, it is not easy for third sector organisations to be accepted if they only play the role of campaigner without also providing services.

7.2.4 The impact of the quality of relationship with government on SSCOs

According to the findings from the interviewees whose organisations have relationships with government, the quality of the relationship with governments affects organisational operation. If SSCOs have a good quality relationship with government, government keeps them informed about social policy and this, in turn, helps SSCOs to develop services which governments will be interested in funding.

The quality of the relationship is affected by the informal networks between the executive leadership of a SSCO and public officials.

One interviewee said:

I feel the quality of the interaction relationship does affect third sector organisational operation to some extent. Also the leader's characteristics in a third sector organisation affect the interaction type, depth, and frequency.
(Executive secretary, A1)

Two similar statements were given by other interviewees:

I think it [the interaction] does affect organisational operation. Basically, the interaction quality depends on the trust relationship which is developed between the leadership of a third sector organisation and public officials.
(Executive secretary, A8)

The relationship quality with government does affect organisational operation. ...Even though the relationship is not the decisive factor to affect organisational operation, government will not know the needs of SSCOs without good interaction. If we don't have good interaction with government, government won't care about our needs. Therefore, we also have to care about government policies. This is a mutually beneficial interaction. (Executive secretary, A9)

A benign interaction between government and SSCOs will promote information exchange, mutual trust and understanding. However, government still possesses important resources. The cards are usually still in the hands of government.

7.3 The impacts of government financial support on SSCOs

Beside the legal supervisory relationship which is based on the 'Civil Association Act' (see section 1.4.1), the financial relationship is another important relationship between government and SSCOs. Alongside the increasing involvement of SSCOs in social service provision, more and more SSCOs receive government funding by applying for grants or contracting with government. As in many modern Western welfare states, the Taiwanese government mainly uses methods such as grants or contracts to provide financial support to SSCOs to enable them to provide various social services. Basically, SSCOs have to make a proposal to apply for grants or to get a contract from government. Skills and knowledge about how to write social service proposals to apply for government grants or to get a contract have become very important for SSCOs.

However, whether SSCOs can get grants or contracts from government or not, or whether or not government wants to provide financial support to SSCOs for social service provision, is determined not only by knowledge of writing social service proposals but also by many other factors. Success in obtaining support from government to provide social services is explored in the following sub-sections.

7.3.1 Obtaining grants or contracts from government to provide social services

According to the survey for this study, 45.5 per cent of SSCOs have received a grant or contract from government to provide social services. The other 54.5 per cent of SSCOs never received a grant or contract from government (see Table 7.3).

Table 7.3 SSCOs which received grant or contract from government

Label	Received grant or contract from government	Never received grant or contract from government	Total
SSOs	41	38	79
Row pct	51.9%	48.1%	100.0%
Column pct	89.1%	69.1%	78.2%
COs	5	17	22
Row pct	22.7%	77.3%	100.0%
Column pct	10.9%	30.9%	21.8%
Total	46	55	101*
	45.5%	54.5%	100.0%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

* 2 missing cases Sig: 0.015<0.05

However, taking organisational type into account, more SSOs received financial support (including a grant or contract) from government than did COs. Around 52 per cent of SSOs have received financial support from government, but more than 77 per cent of COs have never received any financial support from government.

7.3.1.1 Those organisations which have received a grant or contract from government

Why are some SSCOs more successful than others in obtaining grants or funding from government? According to the qualitative findings, in addition to the quality of their proposal, possible success factors include the advocacy role of an SSCO, organisational professionalism, the relationship between the executive leadership of an SSCO and public officials, and a deferential attitude to government. This is demonstrated in the following statement:

I found the government always keeps the approach that if your organisation advocates or campaigns on social welfare issues or services, then government will ask or delegate your organisation to provide the social service which you advocate or campaign for...We got governmental funding for social service provision because we advocated for these social services for a long time.
(Executive secretary, A1)

I think our professionalism is the crucial factor in obtaining financial support from government to implement social welfare provision. ...We emphasise professional supervision and the quality of our services. Therefore, we have always been awarded the best quality organisation in governmental annual evaluation of social organisational performance. (Executive secretary, A2)

Beside organisational professionalism, a close relationship and deferential attitude to government are also very important in creating opportunities to obtain financial support from government.

The chairperson's networking with government officials is very important for a third sector organisation. The chairperson's network and reliability are very important. Organisational interaction with government is the same as the interaction between people. An organisation has to be very reliable as well.
(Chairperson, A7)

We always provide our services quietly. We emphasise what we can do rather than ask what government or others could do for us. And if government asks us to do something, we rarely reject their demands. Therefore, government is likely to delegate to us and provide a grant to implement social service provision.
(Chairperson, A12)

In Taiwan, government likes to provide grants or contracts for those organisations which possess professionalism, better networking with government, and reliability.

7.3.1.2 Those organisations which never received a grant or contract from government

Many SSCOs do not receive any financial support from government. The study data provide a general picture of possible reasons.

Quantitative data

According to the survey, among 55 SSCOs which never received financial support from government, 61.8 per cent did not receive adequate information about applying for government funding. They do not know how and when to apply for government funding. In addition, 41.8 per cent of them said that they do not have enough professionalism to get government funding, and 29.1 per cent organisations thought that the funding regulations were too complicated to understand. Thus, they did not apply for government funding. 27.3 per cent of organisations thought that they did not have a sufficiently close relationship with government (see Table 7.4).

Table 7.4 The perceived reason why SSCOs did not receive a grant or contract from government (multiple choice question)

Label	No information from government	Not enough professionalism	Too complicated to apply	No close relationship with government	Other reasons	Total
SSO (n)	23	15	12	9	4	38
Row pct	60.5%	39.5%	31.6%	23.7%	10.5%	100.0%
CO (n)	11	8	4	6	1	17
Row pct	64.7%	47.1%	23.5%	35.3%	5.9%	100.0%
Total	34	23	16	15	5	55
Table pct	61.8%	41.8%	29.1%	27.3%	9.1%	100.0%

The findings reveal that professionalism and funding information are thought to be

very important for SSCOs if they want to get financial support from governments. How to inform SSCOs about how to apply for governmental funding becomes an important issue. In addition, whether SSCOs have a close relationship with government could also affect SSCOs. From the qualitative interviews, further explanations were suggested.

Qualitative data:

From the interviews, one interviewee pointed out that they do not have enough experience to implement the social services which government wants to provide financial support for. Another interviewee said she was told by a high position official that it is very difficult to receive governmental funding without having a closer relationship with public officials.

We are not qualified to receive a grant from government. Our organisational conditions would not meet the governmental requirements to implement social service provision by government funding. To be honest, we do not have enough experience. Therefore, government won't delegate service projects to us or provide us with a grant. (Executive secretary, B7)

Once a journalist accompanied me to visit a high position public official, the official directly told me that you do not have networks and a good relationship with public officials. We were all shocked then. (Executive secretary, A3)

In Taiwanese society, it seems that personal relationships and networks still play an important role and affect the ability of SSCOs to get governmental funding. These findings emphasise that social or cultural factors should not be overlooked in TSO research.

7.3.2 Impacts of governmental funding on SSCOs

According to the experiences from countries such as the US and the UK, governmental financial support does impact on TSOs' operation. Especially, when TSOs receive governmental funding to provide social services, TSOs usually have to follow government rules in terms of service provision standard, audit and so on. As a result, organisational operation and independence are usually the major concerns of TSOs and social policy analysis. In the following sections, the impacts of government funding on SSCOs in Taiwan are discussed drawing on the study findings.

7.3.2.1 Quantitative findings

Table 7.5 The perceived impacts of government funding on SSCOs (multiple choice question)

Label	Promote professional-ism	Expand the scale of organisation	Relieve financial difficulty	Make the administrating process more complicated	No effect	Other influence	Lose the independence	Total
SSO	31	26	22	12	3	3	2	43
Row pct	75.6%	63.4%	53.7%	29.3%	7.3%	7.3%	4.9%	100%
CO	4	1	1	1	0	0	1	5
Row Pct	80%	20%	20%	20%	0%	0%	20%	100%
Total	35	27	23	13	3	3	3	46
Table pct	76.1%	58.7%	50%	28.3%	6.5%	6.5%	6.5	100%

According to the survey, among 46 organisations which receive governmental funding to provide social service, 76.1 per cent indicated that governmental funding promotes their organisational professionalism; 58.7 per cent say that governmental funding helped to expand their organisational scale, and 50 per cent thought that the government funding has helped the organisation to relieve financial difficulty. Only

6.5 per cent of organisations were worried about losing their organisational independence by receiving governmental funding (see Table 7.5).

7.3.2.2 Qualitative findings

The qualitative findings were consistent with the quantitative findings. Increase of service capacity, and human resources and financial resources were the impacts of governmental funding which were most often mentioned by interviewees. Again, most of the SSCOs which have received governmental funding, also said that they do not worry about losing organisational independence. They receive government financial support based on their social service proposals. They can negotiate with government before they accept governmental funding or contract with government. Therefore, they feel they still have enough autonomy to achieve their own organisational missions.

Perceived impacts of government financial support on SSCOs:

One of my interviewees said:

For us, government funding is a very important factor to make our human resources stable. Organisations need human resources to implement work. If you have stable financial resources, it is more possible to make your human resources stable. (Executive secretary, A1)

Similarly a chairperson said:

We recruited more staff only when we received governmental funding to provide social welfare. ...According to the requirements of governmental funding, we

are required to recruit full-time staff to undertake the funded programme. Therefore, government funding has very positive impacts on us. (Chairperson, A12)

Many SSCOs have financial difficulties to a greater or lesser degree. Government financial support appears to be a very important income resource especially for SSOs. It helps them to stabilise their human resources and to expand their organisational scale.

Views on organisational independence:

SSCOs can receive government funding through two routes: contracts and grants. For social service provision contracts, the details of the service are agreed by both government and SSCO. For grants, government funding is given to SSCOs based on social service proposals which are proposed by SSCOs and then agreed to by government. Interviewees felt that they were not pressurised to reach agreements with government and therefore did not feel they had a problem of losing independence when receiving government funding.

For example:

We receive government funding to do projects that we ourselves apply for. Therefore, I don't think we have the problem of losing independence. ...Ideally, we don't want to rely on government funding so much either. But practically, we cannot find alternative financial resources to replace government funding. (Executive secretary, A8)

We are happy with our autonomy. Why? We submit our service proposals to apply for government funding. ...Usually, government discusses service

proposals with the organisation which government wants to fund. Therefore, we can discuss and change the contents of the service proposal. Up to now, we have controlled our autonomy quite well. (Chairperson, A12)

However, two organisations were aware that receiving a high proportion income from government funding could cause them to lose their independence in the future but it was not seen as an immediate threat for them. The major concern of those organisations was of long-run reliance on government funding which could in fact cease. Therefore, they were thinking about running their own social businesses to create their own income resource.

Recently, we are aware of the problem of independence. Therefore, we plan to do some social enterprises in the near future. (Executive secretary, A9)

In Taiwan, government financial support to SSCOs seems, then, to have more positive impacts on SSCOs rather than negative ones. Organisational independence is not a very important issue for most SSCOs. This might be because many SSCOs position themselves as service providers and see themselves as trying to help government to provide social services.

7.4 The impacts of the interaction with SSCOs on government—from the view points of SSCOs

The impact of the interaction between government and SSCOs can be seen as mutual influence. Governments have impacts on SSCOs in many ways. SSCOs can also have impacts on government. In this section, the impacts of the interaction with SSCOs on government are discussed.

As mentioned in Chapter Six (see section 6.3), many SSCOs play the role of service provider and, in effect, help government to provide social services. As a result, government benefits from SSCOs providing social services to people without any increase in government human resources.

One interviewee said:

...We position ourselves as an assistant institution to help government in social service provision. I feel that what we can do depends on what government can do to support us. (Chairperson, A10)

A chairperson said:

...you can see that government is reducing their human resources or does not increase human resources, but government still has so many things to do and even more and more. Under these circumstances, who can help government? Consequently, government has to delegate these services to third sector organisations... (Chairperson, A7)

An executive secretary said:

Government has its social policies. We have to respond to the policies. If government is not able to do things or has limitation, we, the whole society, have enough resources to help government. (Executive secretary, A11)

In addition, SSCOs also help government by dealing with some cases which do not qualify to receive services or financial assistance from government even though those cases are really in need:

...Some cases cannot receive social assistance from government, because they are on the margin of the poverty line, but they have difficulties to survive. Therefore, the social welfare department of the government usually asks us to help these cases, because government cannot help them according to the social assistance act. We are complementary to government. (Executive secretary, B3)

Besides those benefits or impacts which government can receive from SSCOs, SSCOs have other impacts on government in terms of social legislation and policy:

... From the start, the position of our organisation was to defend the rights of our service users, campaign on social policy and involve users' parents in supporting us. ... Child welfare law was the first law where we were involved in amendments. We got some important articles put into that law. (Executive secretary, A1)

SSCOs may be involved not only in the amendment of social welfare acts but also in improvement of social services provided by government.

...We were involved in the amendment of the special education act and the launch of a new law for disabled people. ... We act as a pressure group to monitor what the government does under welfare law. ...Under pressure from us, government gradually improves the policy, legislation and services. (Executive secretary, A8)

Within the interaction between the Taiwanese government and SSCOs, many SSCOs are willing to help government to provide social services; their policies correspond with government social policies, and some even want to be an assistant institution. SSCOs also initiate many new services and provide suggestions to amend social welfare laws. Consequently, government does benefit from SSCOs in terms of services provision, human resources, promotion of professionalism and legislation amendment. The mutual interaction between government and SSCOs helps to put

social policies and social services into practice.

7.5 Government and SSCOs' cooperation for social policy and social services implementation

Successful implementation of many social policies and social services requires cooperation between government and TSOs. This is especially so as the relationship between government and TSOs is getting closer in terms of social service provision.

In Taiwan, many social policies or services have been influenced by the interaction between government and SSCOs. For example, government issued the 'Social Welfare Services Subsidy Regulations' and it periodically amends the list of social service items it will fund according to social needs. Therefore, many SSCOs respond to government policy or funding regulations in order to increase their chance of getting government funding. In addition, some SSCOs initiate new services which are of interest to government. Thus many policies or services get implemented because of mutual interest and cooperation between government and SSCOs.

7.5.1 SSCOs' interests in service proposals by government

If government policy and services proposals are of interest to SSCOs, then SSCOs will help government to implement the policy or service proposals. In addition, government funding can also encourage SSCOs to provide certain services. For example:

In the beginning of the 1990s, central government wanted to encourage people

to be volunteers. Government wanted there to be an association to encourage people to be volunteers in each county and city. The director of the social affairs department of our city government told us volunteering is a good thing to do. Therefore, we involved some social elites to support this idea. (Executive secretary, A11)

Nowadays, in Taiwan, almost every county has a volunteer association. Some counties even have more than one volunteer association. The policy in which government tried to encourage people to get involved in volunteering did have a significant effect.

...Nowadays, third sector organisations want to cooperate with government. For example, government issues social service funding regulations. In the regulations, government lists the items that can be funded. Many third sector organisations will follow the regulations and try to provide services which will attract government funding. (Chairperson, A17)

7.5.2 Governments' interests in service provision by SSCOs

SSCOs provide service which sometimes interest government. If SSCOs can provide services which have significant benefit to society or which are needed by society and not provided by government, those services can easily interest government and be funded by government.

A secretary of an SSO said:

We provide a service called 'parents and children read together' in communities. Initially, it did not interest government. However, we have trained more and more parents to read stories to children. Our service encourages more and more parents to participate in our organisation and this has been noticed by government. Now, every year either the culture department, or the education department or the social department of government actively ask us

whether we need their funding or not. (Secretary, A15)

One executive secretary said, similarly:

...We have continuously experimented with new services such as early intervention for children and services for people who marry foreigners. They are very new services for government. ...In the beginning, we taught local public officials how to provide the services...However, after a couple of years experiment, government became aware of the importance and effectiveness of the services and started to fund us to provide the services. (Executive secretary, A1)

Another example:

...We are the first organisation to provide service for foreign marriage families in this county. When the social welfare department of this county knew that we were providing this kind of service, they contacted us and told us they would like to support us to expand our services.... (Chairperson, A12)

So governments can be pro-active in seeking out SSCOs to support. Conversely, if services which are provided by SSCOs do not interest governments, SSCOs will find it difficult to gain support.

One executive secretary said:

...This service can really prevent crime. The previous minister of justice really supported this programme. We received a lot of funding. Now, the minister has been changed. The new minister does not really support this programme. Actually, this service is shrinking. (Executive secretary, A2)

Another example:

.... We [disabled people who want to be taxi drivers] campaigned for a long time. Even though government has eventually accepted our idea, government does not fully support this programme. (Executive secretary, A9)

If services provided by SSCOs interest government and receive support from government, SSCOs can not only undertake those services more successfully but they can also help government to improve social services and social policy.

7.6 Chapter summary

The relationship between government and SSCOs is becoming close and important in Taiwan. SSCOs benefit from the interaction and so does government. Key findings reported in this chapter include the following:

1. Several factors impact on the nature of the relationship between government and SSCOs. The development and types of relationship between government and SSCOs are influenced by the financial situation and degree of professionalism of SSCOs. In addition, for SSCOs, personal networks with public officials and a traditional deferential attitude still play an important role in building good relationships with government.
2. Within the interaction, the impact of government on SSCOs is seen as more positive than negative. In terms of financial support, SSCOs can benefit from government funding for expanding their organisational scale and services and the development of professionalism. The loss of organisational independence does not appear to be a major concern for most SSCOs so far in Taiwan.

3. In fact, within the interaction between government and SSCOs, the impacts are mutual. SSCOs can impact on government as well. According to the findings, government can benefit from SSCOs in terms of human resources, improvement of social services and policies, and the amendment of social policy and social welfare acts.
4. Government and SSCOs seem to be increasingly cooperating in social services provision. Sometimes the impetus for cooperation comes from government and sometimes more from SSCOs.

The next chapter is the discussion and conclusion of this thesis.

Chapter Eight

Discussion and Conclusions

8.1 Introduction

The principal purpose of this research was to respond to an observed social policy phenomenon: the rapid growth of TSOs in Taiwan since the late 1980s and their increasing involvement in social service provision. The aim was to develop knowledge about the role(s) and operation of these TSOs and their interaction with government.

This final chapter, then, aims to discuss the main empirical findings about SSCOs (the principal type of TSOs) in Taiwan; to answer the original research questions; and to make a contribution to existing theories about TSOs and social policy as they apply to Taiwanese society.

Since the late 1980s, government and TSOs in Taiwan have relied increasingly on each other to deliver social services. This trend has had significant impacts on Taiwanese social policy infrastructure. The operation and performance of TSOs themselves have been also affected by the changes. While TSOs generally have increasingly become involved in social service provision and have actively cooperated with government, this study has taken SSCOs, which are involved in social service provision more than any other type of TSOs in Taiwan, as the research population. The study addressed five main research questions: (1) What are the features of SSCOs in Taiwan? (2) Why have SSCOs grown significantly since the late 1980s? (3) What is the role of SSCOs in Taiwan? (4) What is the relationship between the Taiwanese

government and SSCOs and why do relationships function in the way they do? (5)

How do institutional factors affect the operation of SSCOs? As I show in this chapter, my findings on SSCOs also throw light on social policy and TSOs in Taiwan more broadly.

This study started with a literature review, which included publications about TSOs in many countries as well as the development of social welfare and the institutional environment of TSOs in Taiwan. The literature review identified gaps in knowledge about social policy and TSOs in Taiwan and also helped to form the research questions. Then a conceptual framework was developed to guide the study. In order to acquire reliable data, a mixed methods research approach (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003; Punch, 1998) was adopted as the main strategy. Empirical data were collected using both quantitative and qualitative methods. The quantitative data, obtained from a mailed questionnaire, enabled key organisational features, the roles of SSCOs and their relationship with government to be explored. Qualitative data expanded and complemented the data obtained from the mailed questionnaires.

This chapter draws together the empirical findings and the earlier literature. Models and theories are developed to provide explanations for the research findings. The chapter consists of four parts. First, the features of SSCOs are discussed; an evolutionary theory of changing ideas about associations and social service provision is proposed to explain the features of SSOs and COs; and a discussion of organisational leadership and governance of SSCOs is also offered. Second, an explanation of 'social service gap-filling' is provided to demonstrate that the growth of SSCOs cannot be explained simply by the abolition of Martial Law or demand for civil society as widely proposed by Taiwanese academics (e.g. Hsiao, 1990; Ku,

1999). It is suggested that the main role of SSCOs is as a service provider and that SSCOs are not generally expected to play an advocacy role in Taiwan. A symbiotic model is then developed to explain the relationship between government and SSCOs. Cooperation between government and SSCOs in implementing social policy and social services is framed using the concept of a 'resonance effect'. Third, I show how the institutional environment and SSCOs in Taiwan influence one another in a mutual relationship. Fourth and finally, conclusions and suggestions for further research are offered.

8.2 Features of SSCOs

In the following four sub-sections, I discuss the common features of SSOs and COs, differences between SSOs and COs, and an evolutionary theory of changing ideas about 'association' and 'social service provision' which can explain the difference between SSOs and COs. A discussion of leadership and governance of SSCOs is also offered.

8.2.1 Common features of SSOs and COs

In Chapter Five, I showed that SSOs and COs have many organisational features in common. This reflects their common organisational foundation in the Taiwanese social context.

Regarding organisational background, most SSCOs are local organisations which register with local governments (section 5.3.2). This reflects the fact that ordinary people are involved in the establishment of SSCOs and voluntary activities. Local

organisations can be easily accessed by people in their communities and provide services directly to local people. Such SSCOs are mostly operated with very limited full-time staff and annual income. The study data revealed that SSCOs have on average only one full time staff member (section 5.3.5) and their average annual revenue is just around 36,000 US\$ (section 5.3.6). This means that SSCOs have limited service capacity and cannot easily develop their level of professionalism. Still, professionalism remains a goal (section 6.6.2). Many SSCOs in the study mentioned the development of professionalism as a key goal and it was seen as a means to achieve organisational sustainability. As more and more organisations focus on specific services and provide services using professional social work skills and knowledge, the remaining SSCOs need to improve their professionalism to gain public support. The pressure for professionalism also comes from government which expects evidence of professionalism from TSOs applying for government funding. These trends reflect ideas about mimetic and normative isomorphism; that organisations imitate the organisational operation of other organisations to deal with uncertainty and that they follow professional expectations which come from their institutional environments (DiMaggio and Powell, 1991).

As for organisational operation, the main role of SSCOs in Taiwan is social service provider (section 6.3). And SSCOs have to follow organisational operational principles which are influenced by traditional social ideologies and social expectations (section 6.4.2). SSCOs are expected to be seen to act in the public interest, to be charitable, to have harmonious organisation, and to be transparent in financial reporting. In order to increase their government funding and public donations, they avoid taking overt political positions or getting involved in religious affairs. They fear they could lose government funding if the political situation changes

or lose support of members of the public with different political attitudes and religious beliefs. Such operational principles are deeply rooted in the institutional environment of SSCOs which includes traditional Confucian ideas. Social ideologies and social expectations heavily influence the organisational operation of TSOs in Taiwan.

8.2.2 Differences between SSOs and COs

Although most SSCOs have features in common, SSOs are different from COs in some aspects. Those differences reflect their origins and the development of ideas on organisational association and social service provision in Taiwan.

The findings revealed that the formations of COs and SSOs are based on different foundations. They also possess different organisational features in terms of association, service ideas, source of income, and organisational operation (see Table 5.1). The differences between SSOs and COs can be traced to traditional Confucian values, contemporary social welfare and social work knowledge, and institutional factors.

Regarding social service ideas and organisational operation, COs tend to reflect traditional philanthropic ideas about poverty and emergency relief service, whereas SSOs tend to adopt contemporary social welfare and social service ideas and knowledge to respond to social problems.

Many COs are seen as places for people to practise their philanthropic activities and to 'accumulate merit'. COs tend to invite as many people as possible to join their organisations and become their members. Their members are their potential donors

and an important income resource; members are also a potential human resource for organisational operation. Due to the strong charitable characteristic of traditional COs, and the stronger emotional ties that often develop between members, harmonious relationships are highly valued. COs, therefore, prefer to run their organisation like a family rather than as a bureaucracy.

By contrast, SSOs in Taiwan tend to adopt social work and management knowledge to provide services, and they emphasise social justice. Some SSOs even try to play an advocacy role, although this role is not very popular in Taiwanese society and is difficult to sustain (see section 6.3.1 and section 6.3.2). SSOs also develop service proposals and apply for government funding. They try to attract donations from the general public by their high service performance. For SSOs, 'members' are a legal requirement for organisational establishment rather than a key financial or human resource. Their emphasis is on running according to 'management' principles rather than as a harmonious family.

In practice, SSOs and COs are not totally distinct in their key features. Where they differ, this reflects the evolution of ideas about associations and social service provision in Taiwan. Many have evolved in response to changing ideas and societal expectations.

8.2.3 Different conceptualisations of how people can associate to meet social need

The difference in organisational features between SSOs and COs reflects different conceptualisations of how people can associate to meet social need in Taiwan. We can

see an evolving conceptualisation from personal and unorganised philanthropic activities to contemporary formal SSCOs which use professional social welfare and social work knowledge to provide social services and campaign for social rights. As Billis's (1993) theory of the voluntary sector suggests, the third sector contains elements of the personal, associational and bureaucratic worlds. Individual third sector organisations may operate with elements of one or more worlds in different combinations. Billis's theory points out that different types of TSOs can exist together in a society, but it does not explain why they exist together. The findings of this study of SSCOs suggest that different types of TSOs not only exist concurrently in a society but that they also represent the evolutionary outcome of people's ideas about association and social service provision.

In Taiwan, traditional ideas of philanthropic activities and social service provision have been closely related to personal virtues; ideas derived from Confucianism, Buddhism and popular ideas. Social service provision traditionally had no connection with social justice or social rights. People believed that helping others could bring good fortune to themselves and their families, and could accumulate merits (Chu, 1993; Ting, 1998). Maintaining social status and reputation were important reasons for people to participate in philanthropic activities in traditional Chinese society (Leung, 1997). People were used to providing services without establishing formal organisations. This is the most traditional way to help people and can still be found in Taiwan nowadays. Organisational effectiveness and governance were not the main issues for such groups of compassionate people. The groups did not possess formal organisational features and structure but they did have a non-profit or voluntary nature, even though they were not formally recognised as non-profit or voluntary organisations. They represent a traditional way to help people in need and can be seen

as positioned within, or close to, the 'personal world' discussed by Billis (1993:159-160).

Over time, due to social change and the emergence of new social problems, personal needs in Taiwan could not be met only by family or by informal groups of compassionate people. In order to increase service capacity and accountability, formal organisations became an increasingly important means to organise philanthropic activities or social services. Formal organisations were increasingly expected by government. In Taiwan, government used the 'Civil Association Act' to regulate membership associations and also issued different regulations such as 'Social Welfare Services Subsidy Regulations' to enhance their organisational professionalism and encourage people to organise legally registered organisations. Many interviewees such as A3 and B8 (section 6.2.3) stated that before they established formal organisations and registered with governments, they were just groups of people who liked to use their personal resources and abilities to help people in need. They registered with government so as to be able to apply for government funding to increase their service capacity, and to become a legitimate organisation with clear accountability to their community. Thus, the way in which people associate to meet social needs has evolved along with changes in social expectations and government regulations. Organisations started considering issues of organisational service capacity and accountability. They moved increasingly towards what Billis has called 'the world of voluntary associations' (Billis, 1993: 160-161).

As contemporary social welfare and social work knowledge was introduced into Taiwan, SSCOs started to adopt it as a guide to their work. Traditional charitable organisations were also gradually influenced by professional knowledge. In response

to complicated social problems, SSCOs generally adopt modern social work knowledge and employ organisational techniques to increase their effectiveness. They have a formal governing body and workers to manage their service provision. They not only provide services but also emphasise service quality. The executive secretary of A2 (section 6.4.2) stated that professionalism and service quality are the two main focuses of their efforts. Due to their professionalism and service quality, they are able to cooperate with government and are funded by government to provide social services. Thus, some SSCOs such as A9 (Chapter 5.4.5) have a high proportion of income from government sources. They appear to be 'hired' by government (Smith and Lipsky, 1993). Gradually they develop bureaucratic features in order to meet requirements for applying for government funding. This kind of SSCO is beyond pure charity or voluntary organisation. As organisations they are positioned in the 'bureaucratic world' described by Billis (1993:161-162).

Thus the findings on SSCOs, which are the main types of TSOs in Taiwan, suggest that different types of SSCOs exist together in Taiwan and the differences reflect the outcome of the evolution of ideas about association and social services provision. The findings also reflect that TSOs comprise different types of organisation and that TSOs are not an internally homogenous sector.

In addition to throwing light on the Taiwanese case, the above discussions also contribute to international comparative research on TSOs. They suggest that different countries have different institutional, historical and cultural contexts and that countries might vary in the evolution of ideas about response to social welfare problems. Therefore, it might be appropriate for comparative research between countries to focus on countries which have similar types of TSOs in similar

development stages, rather than assume a generic conceptualisation of TSOs in all countries.

8.2.4 Organisational governance - a spectrum from familism to professionalism

Organisational governance is another important feature of SSCOs in Taiwan. The findings suggest that organisational governance of SSCOs ranges from family-based governance to professionally-based governance. For example, the executive secretary of B4 (section 6.4.2) stated that they like to run their organisation like a family. In contrast, the executive secretary of A1 stated that they have a well-functioning board and an executive group of professional social workers (section 5.4.4). The two types of governance can be seen as two ends of a governance spectrum which is determined by the level of professionalism in the SSCOs.

Officially, an 'administrative board', which is led by a chairperson, is the principal governance body of SSCOs in Taiwan. But the reality revealed by the research was that SSCOs vary widely. The governance body of many organisations is in practice hybrid and relies not only on board members but also on paid staff or/and volunteers. This means that the administrative board is in practice not entirely responsible for its manifest (or official) functions in SSCOs. This situation can be explained by Harris's theory (1996: 153-155) which suggests that the gap between manifest statements and practice of third sector boards can be caused by power imbalances between boards and paid staff. In Taiwan, however, most SSCOs are small organisations which have limited full time staff and limited income. Thus, organisational governance can be 'captured' by a few powerful people.

Rochester studied small voluntary agencies in the UK and indicated that they are often heavily dependent on a small number of key persons, who could be senior paid staff, chair person or volunteers (Rochester, 2003: 117-118). The situation in Taiwan, it seems, is very similar. According to the qualitative findings, the leadership types of SSCOs in Taiwan may include board-led type; chairperson-led type; and executive secretary-led type. The different leadership types stem from a combination of personal power, professionalism and management knowledge.

For many COs in particular, their members and service users do not demand high professional standards. The governance of the organisation is based on ideas of organisational harmony. They are thought to need inspirational leadership rather than a formal governance body. Consequently, chairpersons can easily take charge of the leadership and decide the direction of organisational operation. For example, the executive secretary of B3 (section 5.4.4) stated that the service and organisational direction had been changed over the years by different chairpersons with different ideas of service. Even though those organisations still have formal organisational rules or regulations, the chairperson is usually expected to be the main leader. In addition, as the findings of this study revealed, many COs try to run their organisations as a 'big family'. Since no one in Chinese society would use management skills to organise a family, the implication is that organisational regulations will be a last resort to solve conflicts or management problems within the organisation.

On the other hand, for SSOs the governance types are determined by the extent of the professionalism of the board and the paid staff. The data suggest that the board will be in a firm leadership position if it has professional capacity but more reliant on paid

factors and cannot simply be explained by the abolition of Martial Law or by the demands of civil society. The growth of SSCOs has a close connection with the expansion of social services to fill the gaps left by government and families. In addition, economic growth enabled people to accumulate wealth and thus to establish SSCOs to help others in need. Consequently, the data on SSCOs, which are the majority of TSOs, suggest that the theories of the impacts of the abolition of Martial Law and the demands of civil society cannot fully explain the growth of TSOs in Taiwan.

During the past two decades, the Taiwan government issued many social welfare Acts and the social welfare budget increased rapidly. Government uses grants, delegation and contracting to TSOs as a key means to provide social services. In response, TSOs have been established to assist government to provide social services. As mentioned in section 3.3.1, many Taiwanese academics (Hsiao, 1990; 2000; Ku, 1999) have adopted the Western theory of civil society and attribute the rapid growth of TSOs in Taiwan since the late 1980s to the abolition of Martial Law. They see the growth of TSOs in Taiwan as a by-product of democratisation and the demand for civil society. Undoubtedly, the abolition of Martial Law gave a boost to the public domain and enabled people to associate freely, to campaign for their own rights, to express their voices and to affect public policy. The abolition of Martial Law has indeed impacted on Taiwanese political reform, but on the basis of this study, I would argue that the abolition of Martial Law is not the direct cause of the growth of TSOs in Taiwan.

According to the findings of this study, more than fifty per cent of respondents whose organisations were established before Martial Law was lifted, indicated that Martial Law did not restrict the establishment of their organisations. Around fifty eight per

cent of SSCOs which were established after Martial Law was lifted also indicated that the abolition of Martial Law did not encourage the establishment of their organisations (section 6.2.2 and 6.2.3). The findings on SSCOs, which are the main types of TSOs, suggest that filling the social service gap is the major reason for the growth of SSCOs in Taiwan rather than the abolition of Martial Law.

The concept of civil society was introduced by Taiwanese academics from the Western world. Whereas academics may be familiar with the concept of civil society, ordinary people do not really understand the concept. Participation in SSCOs for ordinary people is more about 'merit accumulation' and philanthropic activities than about demanding civil society or promoting democracy. Data presented in section 6.5.1 revealed that one third of respondents thought their organisations promote democracy, one third of respondents did not agree, and one third of respondents did not want to express their opinion on whether their organisation promotes democracy. Moreover, many SSCOs do not want to operate their organisations according to democratic principles. Some want, for example, to operate as semi-closed organisations in order to control the direction of organisational operation. They do not open their organisations fully for the general public to participate (section 5.4.2). As Deakin (2001) points out, civil society has cultural roots and it cannot be artificially created or imposed in a country. It needs time to grow. Western ideas of civil society appear to be still growing in Taiwan. Civil society did not suddenly emerge after the abolition of Martial Law.

In fact, SSCOs vary and have different organisational goals. Some leaders or staff of SSCOs may understand the idea of civil society and put effort into demanding civil society in Taiwan, but for most SSCOs this is not their purpose and they just want to

provide social services to people in need. Thus, civil society renewal and the abolition of Martial Law do not effectively explain the growth of SSCOs in Taiwan. The findings of this study suggest that filling gaps in social service provision is the most important explanation for the growth of SSCOs within the past two decades in Taiwan.

However, we should also note that the rapid growth of TSOs in Taiwan took place in the period when the economy was growing fast and when government was looking to expand social services. Thus, many SSCOs were established to promote people's welfare and assist government to provide social services (section 6.2). Many interviewees said that filling the social service gaps left by government and family was the main driver for the establishment of SSCOs in the last two decades.

The traditional family can no longer play the role of service provider satisfying all individual needs. After industrialisation and urbanisation occurred in Taiwan during the 1970s, the capacity of families to meet varied individual needs was more limited. For example, the executive secretary of A16 (section 5.4.1) said that the establishment of her organisation was a response to the fact that many parents who have deaf children did not know how to deal with their children's problems. The average family size has decreased and the numbers of nuclear families have increased significantly in the past decades. In addition, the female labour participation rate has also increased. Taken together, these factors mean that traditional carers in Taiwanese families have shrunk in number and family is not able to provide all necessary services. Families need external support and government and TSOs have been expected to play that role.

The findings on SSCOs suggest that the pattern of growth of TSOs in Taiwan and the

reasons for growth are different from the situation in Western countries. Even though TSOs in Taiwan do fill service gaps left by government, the drive is probably mainly Confucian ideas which encourage people to be self sufficient rather than the idea of government failure. In addition, although the family fails to meet all individual needs, it is still expected to satisfy personal needs as far as possible and people do not really want government to intervene in family affairs. Therefore, we should be cautious about adopting Western theories or ideas to explain the phenomena of Taiwanese social policy or TSOs.

8.3.2 The role of SSCOs in the social welfare context in Taiwan—SSCOs for 'hire' not for advocacy

SSCOs play many different roles in social welfare in Taiwan, but under the influence of traditional Confucian ideas, their main role is as a social service provider. Many interviewees said that they established their organisations because they wanted to supplement or complement governmental social services provision. The advocacy role is still not a popular one for SSCOs in Taiwan.

Within Western democratic countries such as the UK and the USA, issues surrounding the social service and advocacy roles of TSO have been the concern of many academics (e.g. Boris, 1999; Kidd, 2002; Smith and Lipsky, 1993). In the context of the Western democratic tradition, TSOs are believed to strengthen democracy by providing a vehicle for civic participation; to influence public affairs and express the people's voice (Boris, 1999; Dekker and van de Broek, 1998). The transformation of public service provision which involves more and more cooperation between government and TSOs has been considered to threaten the important advocacy role of TSOs (Reid, 1999). However, this concern is grounded in the Western democratic

tradition. In Taiwan, the scenario is quite different.

Around 80 per cent of SSCOs indicated that their main role is that of social service provider in order to fill service gaps left by government and family and to match social expectations (section 6.3.1). Many SSCOs also expressed an interest in social values protection. Although the role of advocate has been gradually accepted by some people, it is still far from the people's favourite and does not match social expectations and ideas. The findings indicated that within the Confucian social context, SSCOs are generally not expected to play an advocacy role—SSCOs themselves do not expect it and neither do ordinary people or governmental organisations. Even though some SSCOs have campaigned for welfare reform, they did not necessarily ask government to provide social services directly; they gradually transformed themselves into service providers (section 6.3.2). Most SSCOs position themselves as social service providers rather than advocates. They want to cooperate with government in social service provision. Many SSCOs are in fact proud to be funded by government and do not see threats to their organisational autonomy as an important issue.

Many SSCOs increasingly receive a high proportion of income from government funding. The quantitative and qualitative data showed that SSCOs do not generally perceive this as a possible threat to their independence (section 7.3.2). This may be because government funding to SSCOs is generally provided in response to service proposals made by SSCOs themselves. It may also be explained in part by the newness of democracy in Taiwan so that there is little questioning still of governmental policies. Whatever the explanation, the findings suggest that SSCOs in Taiwan are not at the moment facing dilemmas about an advocacy role and this may

be closely connected with their particular social traditions.

8.3.3 Symbiotic relationships - a new theory from the view point of SSCOs

As explained in section 1.7, the interaction between government and TSOs has become increasingly close with their growing cooperation in social service provision. The relationship has gradually changed from one in which SSCOs are in a subordinate relationship to one in which they are in a partnership relationship. The study findings also suggest that, in practice, government and SSCOs have built different types of symbiotic relationships in Taiwan.

The study suggests that the relationships between government and SSCOs within the Taiwanese social welfare context are still influenced by traditional Confucian ideas such as respecting authority, harmonious relationships, personal networks, and deferential attitudes (section 7.2.3). In addition, professionalism and financial independence are also important factors for SSCOs in building a relationship with government. In practice, the relationship between government and SSCOs is not of one type but is of many different types depending on the financial expertise and professionalism of SSCOs. SSCOs possess varying abilities to build relationships with government. Both government and SSCOs can benefit from their interaction in different ways. Therefore, their relationship is symbiotic rather than competitive.

In the interaction process, government's main concern is whether services can be provided to people and whether policy goals can be achieved without increasing human and financial resources and budgets. SSCOs' main concerns are whether their

organisation can survive and whether they can expand their services and achieve organisational goals. Government and SSCOs have different concerns and goals.

According to the study findings, three main types of relationship between government and SSCOs can be distinguished in terms of their power relationship, financial resources, professionalism and main benefits: government benefit; SSCOs benefit; and mutual benefit, (see Table 8.1).

Government benefit:

In this type of relationship, SSCOs have independent financial resources, and usually have little or no income from government, whereas government has to ask those SSCOs to help government in social service provision (section 7.4 the quotation of B3). Most of these organisations are COs. They are concerned with disaster, emergency and poverty relief. Even though government provides social assistance to poor people, some poor people are on the margins of the poverty line. Government, therefore, asks these organisations to help those poor people who cannot receive social assistance from government. Within the interaction, SSCOs help government to deal with some marginal cases. SSCOs, however, do not immediately benefit from this interaction with government. On the contrary, they might have to spend extra money and human resources to help those marginal cases.

SSCO benefit:

Some SSCOs have relatively low professionalism, and are established for providing recreation services or mutual help for their membership. For example, some elderly

people's associations organise trips or dinner parties to offer recreational activities for their members e.g. A5 (section 5.2.2.3). Such organisations apply for governmental funding sometimes. Although those programmes are not a priority in government social policies, government still funds the programmes occasionally. Within the interaction, SSCOs have the legitimate and moral status to apply for government funding to undertake their services, but government does not benefit from the services directly in terms of achieving their governmental policy goals.

Mutual benefit:

Within this type of relationship, government has legitimate power but SSCOs have power derived from the professionalism of their staff. SSCOs have to rely on governmental financial support to complete their organisational goals, but government has to depend on the professionalism or human resource of these SSCOs to develop or conduct new services, or to respond to the welfare services advocacy of some SSCOs. During the interaction or collaboration, government benefits from the human resources and professionalism of SSCOs to deliver social services and develop new social services and SSCOs benefit from government funding to achieve their organisational goals and expand their organisational size and service scale (section 7.3.2.2 and section 7.4). For example, one of the interviewees indicated that government collaborates with them because of their professional performance and accountability. Some SSCOs might also try to develop new service programmes to match governmental policies and thus to get more funding. In short, they help each other mutually. Another interviewee said that they really want to cooperate with government and rarely reject government's demands. As a result, government is willing to fund them to provide services and they have increased their full-time staff

by receiving governmental funding.

Table 8.1 Symbiotic model of the relationship between government and SSCOs—Organisational perspective

Types of Relationships	Power	Financial Resource	Professionalism	Benefits
Government Benefit	G has administrative power; S has moral credibility	S has independent financial resources and little or no income from government	G and S have different professional strengths	G asks S to deal with some marginal cases.
SSCOs Benefit	G has administrative power ; S has positive moral status	Governmental funding is an important resource for S	S mainly provides recreational services.	S provides services through governmental funding.
Mutual benefit	G has responsibility for provision of service and its regulation; S has professional power and human resource	G provides funding	S has professional or specialist expertise not available to G	G achieves policy goals S achieves its own goals and also expands organisationally

* G = government; S = SSCOs.

The symbiotic model suggests that the relationship between government and SSCOs is cooperative rather than competitive. And cooperation will be the principal organisational operation strategy in service provision for both government and SSCOs in the foreseeable future.

To some extent, the findings of this study about government-SSCO relationship types reflect the special historical and cultural background to the development of social welfare provision in Taiwan. For example, it was only comparatively recently that the national government acknowledged the need to take an active interest and role in social welfare services, and that TSOs recognised their own potential role in social policy implementation. It is therefore to be expected that relationships between government and the TSOs will be fluid and dynamic and involve a working out of mutual exchanges and benefits. Again, the findings suggest that traditional Chinese values about responsibility for caring and about appropriate behaviour in interpersonal relations are an important influence on contemporary relationships between government and TSOs in Taiwan.

At the same time, the findings of this study about symbiotic relationships have utility and applicability well beyond Taiwan. First, the symbiotic model moves the discussion of the relationship between governments and TSOs from the macro level of social and political conditions in particular countries, to the level of organisational interaction. Here the similarities between countries may in practice be far greater than is generally acknowledged in earlier academic literature. It may well be that at the micro level the nature of interactions between government and TSOs are heavily affected in most countries by the same factors of power, money and professionalism discerned in the Taiwanese case. It may also be that in many other countries, third 'sectors' are internally heterogeneous such that, as in Taiwan, organisational capacity for interaction with government, and degree of interest in engaging with government, vary widely within what is widely conceptualised as a single 'sector'. Certainly recent research findings in the UK and the US indicate that these possibilities have face

validity (Boris, 1999; Marshall, 1996; Vincent and Harrow, 2005).

Second, the symbiotic model provides a different interpretation of the body of literature which has pointed to the many ways in which government funding and regulation can impact negatively on the goals and autonomy of third sector organisations (Harris, 2001b; Salamon, 1995; Smith and Lipsky, 1993; Taylor, 2001). The symbiotic model raises the possibility that such negative impacts may be balanced in practice by the fact that governments are, in turn, often dependent on third sector organisations for the delivery of their own policy goals. The relationship is not necessarily one of power imbalance. Ralph Kramer, an early specialist scholar of the third sector, raised this possibility of a mutually beneficial and interdependent relationship between government and third sectors more than twenty five years ago (Kramer, 1981). It may be time to re-examine this hypothesis in the light of the findings of the Taiwan study.

Finally, the model provides a reminder of the fact that in practice relationships between governments and TSOs are not static or fixed; they can change quite rapidly in response to changed political and economic factors and also as the organisational capacity and goals of TSOs themselves change. The typical pattern of modern welfare states may perhaps be that of symbiotic relationships between governments and TSOs in which cooperation is more frequent than competition.

8.3.4 The resonance effect - cooperation between government and SSCOs to implement social policy and social services

Cooperation between government and TSOs to provide social services has increased dramatically in Taiwan in recent years. Government increasingly funds TSOs to

provide social services; TSOs also rely on government funding to provide social services more and more. As presented in section 1.7, from 1989 to 2004, central government funded more than 86.1 billions new Taiwanese dollars (approximate 2.6 billions US\$ in 2007) to local governments and TSOs to undertake more than 56,000 different social service programmes (Department of Social Affairs, Ministry of Interior, 2005b). However, there is no formal or institutional mechanism for negotiating or reaching agreement between government and TSOs when they try to draw the other party to join them in providing social services. Government and TSOs use their own respective ways to approach each other.

In order to draw TSOs into social service provision, the Taiwanese central government has issued 'Social Welfare Services Subsidy Regulations' with various social service items which government might be willing to support. Government also uses direct approaches to some close TSOs to seek support for new services or policies. These methods do not guarantee a positive TSO response. In contrast, some TSOs themselves use methods such as campaigning or advocacy to try to gain support from government. Other TSOs develop or initiate new social services and hope for government's support. Sometimes their work is noticed and receives support from government, but sometimes not. TSOs do not have any means to ensure government support for their work.

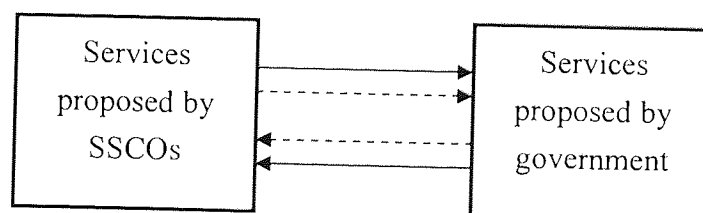
The study findings suggest that where service programmes proposed by one party also interest the other party, there is a higher likelihood of successful social services delivery. In other words, cooperation is more likely to be achieved when the services proposed by one party 'resonate' with the other party.

The qualitative findings provided examples of this kind of 'resonance effect'. The interviewee of A12 (section 7.5.2) indicated that government contacted them very soon after they first provided services for foreign marriage families in their county. Foreign marriage is a problem about which government in Taiwan has been very concerned in recent years and so agreement to cooperate was quickly reached. Again, after A15 had provided the 'parent and children read together' service for a couple of years, government noted the impacts on parenting and started supporting the service financially.

Similarly, policies or services proposed by government may be of interest to SSCOs and may also receive their support. For example, many volunteering associations have been established in Taiwan with the encouragement of government and more and more people are involved in voluntary activities (also see section 7.5.1). The 'resonance effect' can occur rapidly or gradually.

The 'resonance effect model' is shown in Figure 8.2. The full line represents a rapid resonance effect and the dotted line represents a more gradual effect.

Figure 8.2 Resonance effect between government and SSCOs in service implementation



'Resonance effect' was originally a term used to refer to a physical phenomenon; sound reinforced or prolonged by synchronous vibration or reflection. Applying this

idea as a metaphor to describe the nature of cooperation between government and SSCOs, it helps to explain the likelihood of success in implementing social policy or services. Sometimes this 'resonance effect' between government and SSCOs is generated quickly (presented by the line in Figure 8.2) such as the case of A12 which provided services for foreign marriage families. Under different conditions, it may take longer to generate (presented by the dotted line in Figure 8.2) such as the case of A15 which provided the service of 'parents and children read together'. The time taken by each party to figure out how they would like to participate in policy implementation, varied.

The concept of 'resonance effect' moves the discussion about the relationship between government and TSOs in social service provision from how they interact with each other (such as competition or cooperation) to how they can attract each other and work together better. It also suggests that collaboration in social service provision require better infrastructure to facilitate agreement about social services delivery.

8.4 SSCOs in a highly institutionalised environment in Taiwan

As Meyer and Rowan (1991) suggest, contemporary formal organisations exist within highly institutionalised contexts. According to the findings of this study, SSCOs in Taiwan also exist in a highly institutionalised environment which comprises elements such as economic conditions, political factors, traditional social values, policy infrastructure and regulations. In order to increase their organisational survival prospects, SSCOs are driven to incorporate institutional rules which define the ends they will pursue and what means they will adopt to achieve these ends (section 6.4.2). Thus, SSCOs act to meet demands such as social expectations, legal regulations and

professional demands. As suggested by DiMaggio and Powell (1991), SSCOs become increasingly isomorphic with each other in terms of organisational structure, operation and development to increase their chances of survival.

However, it is not only the case that the institutional environment impacts on SSCOs; also SSCOs impact on their institutional environment. In practice, organisations and environments can be seen as interdependent and they also influence each other (Scott, 2003:145-146). This mutual influence between institutional environments and SSCOs is discussed in the following two sub-sections.

8.4.1 The impact of institutional factors on the SSCOs

In this study, the important findings are that SSCOs are influenced by many institutional factors, but that institutional factors do not impact equally on the role and operation of SSCOs; some institutional factors have more impact than the others. Also some institutional factors have a connection with each other and cannot be clearly distinguished.

In this study, the findings on SSCOs suggest that economic factors, government policy and traditional values are the most important influences on organisational roles and operations in Taiwan. However some institutional factors cannot be clearly distinguished from the others. For example, traditional social values are closely related to cultural factors and social welfare Acts or regulations are rooted in social policies. In this section, then, I discuss not only the most influential factors on the role and operation of SSCOs in Taiwan but also related factors.

The three most influential institutional factors are directly related to organisational survival and operation. Economic factors affect organisational income and therefore organisational survival and development (section 6.4.1). For example, if the national economy declines, government social welfare budgets will be affected and the public will be less generous in their donations to SSCOs. As for social policy and related regulations, the 'Civil Association Act' and 'Social Welfare Subsidy Regulations of the Ministry of the Interior Affairs' are indicated by the research data as being the two regulations which significantly affect SSCOs. Basically, the 'Civil Association Act' regulates organisational establishment, operation and some basic features such as how often a board should meet, how many people the board should have and what area the organisation should serve. As presented in Chapter Five, the quantitative data revealed that SSCOs which register with county governments have fewer board members and income than SSCOs which register with central government. The difference between local organisations and national organisations in the number of board members is not caused by differences in recruitment efforts but by regulations. The regulations stratify SSCOs into different classes and lead national organisations to have more advantages such as human resource and government support so that they can compete with local organisations (section 5.3.4). Consequently, local SSCOs, even though they are the majority and more accessible to the community, are forced to be weaker than national SSCOs.

Again, the 'Social Welfare Subsidy Regulations', is the comprehensive guide for those applying for central government funding. Therefore, its regulations, in terms of how to apply and what kind of services will be funded, are very important for SSCOs. They determine the services which SSCOs can provide because they affect organisational income. The quantitative and qualitative study data showed how

government funding has become an increasingly important financial resource for many SSCOs especially SSOs (section 5.3.6 and 5.4.5). In order to be funded by government, SSCOs have to submit service proposals which match the requirements of the regulations in terms of their format, type of services and professional standards. Thus, the 'Social Welfare Subsidy Regulations' are a key external institutional force for SSCOs. Government can control SSCOs through the regulations prescribing the conditions for government funding. Institutionally, the 'Civil Association Act' and the 'Social Welfare Subsidy Regulations' appear to be two important forces which can determine the organisational infrastructure and service directions of SSCOs.

As to traditional social values which are mainly based on Confucian doctrines, they mainly affect the organisational role and operation rules of SSCOs. Confucian doctrines emphasise family harmony, respect for authority, self-cultivation and personal duty. In line with these values, many SSCOs show a deferential attitude to government (section 7.2.3) and are willing to be funded by government and help government to provide social services (section 6.3). Some SSCOs even behave like agents of government. Unlike the situation in Western countries such as the UK and the USA (Kramer, 1981; Salamon, 1995; Taylor, 1992), organisational independence appears not to be an important issue for SSCOs in Taiwan. Many SSCOs, in fact, are proud to be funded by government. In addition, as presented in section 8.2.1, SSCOs follow operational principles such as presenting a charitable image and organisational harmony; these also are rooted in traditional values.

Due to the demands of the institutional environment, it seems that isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell, 1991) does happen to SSCOs as they struggle to ensure organisational survival and deal with uncertainty. Coercive isomorphism is evident in

the way SSCOs have to follow the requirements of social welfare subsidy regulations to apply for government funding. Government sets up the funding conditions and TSOs have to meet the conditions if they wish to apply for government funding. Regarding mimetic isomorphism, some COs learn from the experience of other COs which have transformed themselves from providing poverty and emergency relief to also providing other services based on professional social work knowledge and skills (B3 in section 6.6.2). Successful COs provide an important model for other COs about how to survive and develop in the environment. Securing organisational survival through professionalism also becomes an important goal for many SSCOs. Even though most SSCOs in Taiwan are small size organisations, they are increasingly aware of the importance of professionalism. Therefore, professionalism also becomes a normative isomorphic pressure to push SSCOs to transform themselves and to follow the norms of social service professions.

Within the highly institutionalised environment, the role and operation of SSCOs in Taiwan have been shaped by institutional rules. However, in this open environmental system (Scott, 2003) SSCOs also, in their turn, influence their institutional environment.

8.4.2 The influence of SSCOs on their institutional environment

Organisations and environment are interdependent. Organisations are not only affected by their environment; environment is also impacted by organisations (Scott, 2003). The study findings suggest that SSCOs can affect their institutional environment in at least two respects: the social expectations on SSCOs and social policy and legislation.

As they provide services, SSCOs develop knowledge and methods to deal with complex social problems. This leads to changes in the expectations on SSCOs; expectations ranging from the provision of philanthropic activities to the provision of contemporary professional social services. Traditionally, SSCOs were expected to provide emergency or poverty relief services motivated by moral principles. Nowadays, SSCOs are expected to provide a variety of social services to meet different personal needs. And those services are not only based on expectations of personal virtue but also on ideas about social justice and civil rights. In short, different ideas about social services have been introduced into Taiwan. Expectations about the role and operation of SSCOs have also changed; influenced by the professional development of SSCOs themselves.

SSCOs also influence government. Although government issues social policy and regulations to encourage SSCOs to provide social services, in practice, government also requires SSCOs to provide their practical experiences to help amend policy and regulations. The study findings show for example that the 'Special education law' and the 'Child welfare law' were amended because of advice provided by SSCOs (section 7.4). Therefore, it is not only the case that social legislation and government regulations impact on SSCOs but also that SSCOs influence government to amend social legislation and regulations.

In order to provide better social services in the future in Taiwan, government and SSCOs will need to 'build capacity' (Cairns, Harris and Young, 2005; Harrow, 2001) to work in partnership. Between TSOs and their institutional environment the influences are mutual. Some institutional factors such as economic growth and social

values affect SSCOs more than the other factors. Similarly, SSCOs affect some aspects of their environment more than others.

8.5 Conclusions, suggestions for further research and possible developments in the future

Following the discussion and the theories and models provided in the above sections, in this closing section of the chapter and the thesis, I summarise the research and make some suggestions for further research work on the topic of TSOs in Taiwan.

8.5.1 Conclusions

This study has concentrated on exploring a social policy phenomenon in Taiwan: the rapid growth of TSOs since the late 1980s and their increasing involvement in social service provision. I sampled SSCOs, which are the main types of TSOs in Taiwan, and examined their roles, operations and interaction with government. To some extent, the findings of this study will have utility and applicability well beyond SSCOs - to TSOs generally in Taiwan and perhaps to third sectors in other countries. My study of SSCOs in Taiwan reflects new institutional theory; the idea that contemporary formal organisations exist in a highly institutionalised environment. Some of the study findings are particularly noteworthy.

First, the third sector in Taiwan is not internally homogeneous. From the findings on SSCOs, we have learned that SSOs are different from COs in many aspects. I explained the differences using an evolutionary theory which points to changing ideas about associations and social service provision. Evolutionary theory also explains the heterogeneity of the Taiwanese third sector. From a macro point of view, compared

with government and the market, TSOs can be treated as a 'sector', but from the micro view point, TSOs are heterogeneous. This heterogeneity of TSOs reminds us that we need to select TSOs from different countries with great care we conducting international comparative studies.

Second, within Western democratic countries such as the UK and the USA, TSOs often play an advocacy role. However, in this study, I showed that TSOs do not necessarily play an advocacy role in all countries. Evidence shown in this study, suggests that many SSCOs in Taiwan, which is a newly democratic country, are happy to be 'hired' by government. They are pleased to play the role of social service provider and help government to provide social services. Their growth has a close connection with the expansion of social welfare. The earlier theories of 'government failure', 'market failure' and 'civil society' do not fully explain the growth of TSOs in Taiwan. It seems that the growth and roles of TSOs in a country are deeply rooted in historical, social, and cultural contexts.

Third, the relationship between government and TSOs is not always one of tension and competition. In fact, the relationship between government and TSOs is often symbiotic with cooperation in social service provision. Cooperation between government and TSOs can be of mutual benefit. In addition, a 'resonance effect' was found in many cases of cooperation between government and TSOs in implementation of social policies and social services. The 'resonance effect' theory I proposed suggests that if a social service offered by one party is attractive to the other, the service has a higher chance of being implemented successfully. This suggests that better communication channels or better infrastructure should be constructed between government and TSOs and that this would facilitate provision of higher quality social

services.

Fourth, TSOs exist in a highly institutionalised environment. Many institutional factors affect TSOs. Institutional factors have differential impacts on TSOs and some institutional factors are connected to others. Thus, more research needs to be undertaken to explore how institutional factors impact on the operation and role of TSOs, and how TSOs impact on their institutional environment. In addition, the findings of this study suggest that in order to deal with uncertainty, TSOs have to conform to coercive rules issued by government, to mimic other successful organisational models, and to follow professional requirements to survive in the highly institutionalised environment.

This study has developed theories and models to add knowledge to the existing literature on social policy and TSOs. But it has, of course, some limitations. The findings are based on SSCOs in Taiwan and so we need to be cautious about generalising the findings to other types of TSOs in Taiwan and to TSOs in other countries. In addition, due to limited time and money, this study could not cover all the topics which relate to the role and operation of TSOs and issues about cooperation between government and TSOs in social service provision. Further research is therefore suggested in the following section.

8.5.2 Further research

Many possible further research topics emerged from this study. A few key topics for further research are suggested from the perspectives of both third sector organisations and social policy:

Third sector organisations:

1. According to the findings of this research, most SSCOs in Taiwan are small organisations in terms of numbers of full-time staff and annual expenditure. Specialist studies are now needed to explore how small TSOs manage their organisations and survive in the social welfare context and any particular challenges they face in building their capacity to work in partnership with government.
2. Within the Chinese cultural context, TSOs appear to act differently from TSOs in many Western countries. For example, TSOs in Taiwan are willing to be 'hired' by government. Thus, further study of the core organisational values of TSOs in Taiwan would help to develop knowledge about the differences between TSOs in different countries.

Social policy:

1. Close cooperation between government and TSOs appears to be an important social policy trend in Taiwan. Further research is needed to explore how government and TSOs can work together most appropriately and what infrastructure is required to facilitate this.
2. In response to cooperation between government and TSOs in social service provision, further research is needed on appropriate evaluation and accountability of services which are provided by TSOs.

8.5.3 Possible developments in the near future in social policy and the role of TSOs

TSOs have grown rapidly in the past two decades in Taiwan and this trend seems to be still continuing within the expansion of social welfare. Government reliance on TSOs in social service provision appears to be an important service delivery model in the 'Taiwanese' welfare state. This model is supported by traditional Chinese welfare ideas and also by Western social welfare ideas such as welfare privatisation. TSOs in Taiwan will probably continue to expand their role in different aspects of Taiwanese society. As they do so, Western ideas of TSOs will influence the operation and role of TSOs more and more. TSOs in Taiwan possess their own cultural nature and traditional ideology; but at the same time, they are also gradually affected by Western ideas of democracy, social justice and civil rights. These latter ideas are changing the operation and social ideas of TSOs and they are also changing their relationship with government. Even though Western ideas are gradually affecting the operation of TSOs in Taiwan, TSOs will not operate in the same way as TSOs in Western developed countries such as the UK and the USA. It is expected that the Taiwanese government will issue even more encouraging policies and guidelines in the near future, further encouraging collaboration between government and TSOs in social service provision. As a new social welfare state and democratic country, Taiwan provides an excellent setting from which to observe TSOs and their shift from operating according to traditional Chinese approaches to taking on Western ideas about third sector practice. Since Taiwan is strongly influenced by Confucianism, the study of Taiwanese TSOs can provide new ideas to add to theories about TSOs grounded in a Western social and cultural context. Exploring TSOs in Taiwan has enabled me to discover different models and theories of TSOs about their organisational role, operation and interaction

with government.

References

- Alcock, P (2003) *Social Policy in Britain*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Aspalter, C. (2002) *Democratization and Welfare State Development in Taiwan*. Hampshire: Ashgate.
- Badelt, C. (1990) 'Institutional Choice and the Nonprofit Sector' in H. K. Anheier and W. Seibel (eds), *The Third Sector: Comparative Studies of Nonprofit Organisations*, pp. 53-63. New York: de Gruyter.
- Bauer et al (2005) 'Qualitative, Quantity and Knowledge Interests: Avoiding Confusions' in M.W. Bauer and G. Gaskell (eds), *Qualitative Researching*. London: Sage.
- Ben-Ner, A and Van Hoomissen, T. (1993) 'Nonprofit Organisations in the Mixed Economy: A Demand and Supply Analysis', in A. Ben-Ner and B. Gui (eds), *The Nonprofit Sector in the Mixed Economy*, pp. 27-58. Michigan: The University of Michigan Press.
- Bernard, H. R. (2000) *Social Research Methods*. London: Sage.
- Billis, David (1993) *Organising Public and Voluntary Agencies*. London: Routledge.
- Boris, E. T. (1999) 'Nonprofit Organizations in A Democracy: Varied Roles and Responsibilities' in E.T Boris and C. E. Steuerle (eds), *Nonprofits And Government: Collaboration and Conflict*, pp. 3-29. Washington, D. C.: The Urban Institute Press.
- Brenton, M. (1985) *The voluntary sector in British social service*. London: Longman.
- Brislin, R. W.; Lonner, W. J. and Thorndike, R. M. (1973) *Cross-Cultural Research Methods*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Bryman, A. (2004) *Social Research Methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Budhwar, P and Budhwar, L. (1999) *Research Methods for Business Studies*. Delhi:

Global Business Press.

Cairns, B., Harris, M and Young, P. (2005) 'Building the Capacity of the Voluntary Nonprofit Sector: Challenges of Theory and Practice', *International Journal of Public Administration*, vol. 28, pp. 869-885.

Carothers, T. (1999-2000) 'Civil Society', *Foreign Policy*, pp. 18-29.

Chan, G. H. S. (1985) 'Social welfare in Taiwan', in J. Dixon and H. S. Kim (eds), *Social Welfare in Asia*, pp. 324-353. Kent: Croom Helm.

Chen, K. J (1987) *Social Policy and Social Administration*. Taipei: San Min Book. (In Mandarin)

Chu, R. L. (1993) 'Charity and Altruistic Behaviour in Chinese Society', *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology Academia Sinica*, no. 75, pp.105-132. (In Mandarin)

Council for Economic Planning and Development, Executive Yuan. (2005) *Economic Development Taiwan, R.O.C. 2005*. Taipei: San Min Book. (In Mandarin)

Creswell, J. W. (1998) *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design*. London: Sage.

Creswell, J. W. (2003) *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches*. London: Sage.

Crofts, T (ed) (1995) *The Analects*. New York: Dover Publications.

Crotty, M (1998) *The Foundations of Social Research*. London: Sage.

Dahl, R. A. (1982) *Dilemmas of pluralist democracy: Autonomy vs. control*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Deakin, N. (2001) *In Search of Civil Society*. Hampshire: Palgrave.

Dekker, P. and van de Broek, A. (1998) 'Civil Society in Comparative Perspective: Involvement in Voluntary Associations in North America and Western Europe', *International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 11-38.

Delanty, G and Strydom, P. (eds) (2003) *Philosophies of Social Science*. Buckingham: Open University.

Democratic Progress Party (1993) 'A Just Welfare State', *White Paper of DPP's Social Policy*. Taipei: DPP. (In Mandarin)

Denzin, N. K.(1978) *The Research Act: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods*. McGraw-Hill Press.

Department of Social Affairs, Ministry of Interior (2005a) *Social Welfare Services Subsidy Regulations*. <http://sowf.moi.gov.tw/24/96.htm> (In Mandarin)

Department of Social Affairs, Ministry of Interior (2005b) *Annual Report of Social Administration in 2004*. <http://sowf.moi.gov.tw/17/93/index.htm> (In Mandarin)

Department of Social Affairs, Ministry of Interior (2005c) *The Guidelines of Social Welfare Policy*. <http://Sowf.moi.gov.tw/18/index.htm>. (In Mandarin)

Department of Social Affairs, Ministry of Interior (2006a) *The Division of Membership Association*. <http://sowf.moi.gov.tw/11/new11.htm>. (In Mandarin)

Department of Social Affairs, Ministry of Interior (2006b) *Civil Association Act*. <http://sowf.moi.gov.tw/11/new11.htm>. (In Mandarin)

Department of Statistics, Ministry of Interior (2004) *National Survey of the Activities of Occupational and Social Associations 2003*. <http://www.moi.gov.tw/stat/index.asp> (In Mandarin)

Department of Statistics, Ministry of Interior (2005) *Statistical Yearbook of Interior 2005*. <http://www.moi.gov.tw/stat/> (In Mandarin)

Department of Statistics, Ministry of the Interior (2007) *Statistic Indicator of Gender*. <http://www.moi.gov.tw/stat/>. (In Mandarin)

Dilthey, W. (2003) 'The Development of Hermeneutics', in G. Delanty and P. Strydom (eds) *Philosophies of Social Science*, pp. 99-101. Buckingham: Open University.

- DiMaggio, P. J. and Anheier, H. K. (1990) 'The Sociology of Nonprofit Organizations and Sectors', *Annual Review of Sociology*, no.16, pp.137-159.
- DiMaggio, P. J. and Powell, W. W. (1991) 'The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organisation Field', in W. W. Power and P. J. DiMaggio (eds) *The New Institutionalism in Organisational Analysis*, pp. 63-82. Chicago: The University of Chicago.
- Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, Executive Yuan, ROC. (2005a) *Statistical Yearbook*.
<http://eng.dgbas.gov.tw/lp.asp?CtNode=2351&CtUnit=1072&BaseDSD=36> (In Mandarin)
- Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, Executive Yuan, R.O.C. (2005b) *Central Government General Budget Proposal in 2005*.
<http://www.dgbas.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=8517&CtNode=1218>. (In Mandarin)
- Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, Executive Yuan, R.O.C. (2005c) *National Income Statistics Yearbook in 2004*.
<http://www.dgbas.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=15139&CtNode=3572>. (In Mandarin)
- Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, Executive Yuan, R.O.C. (2005d) *Social Indicators 2004*.
<http://www.dgbas.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=12863&CtNode=3100>. (In Mandarin)
- Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, Executive Yuan, R.O.C. (2005e) *Statistical Yearbook of ROC 2004*.
http://eng.dgbas.gov.tw/public/data/dgbas03/bs2/yearbook_eng/y008.pdf.
- Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, Executive Yuan, R.O.C. (2006) *Annual Report of Human Resource Survey 2005*.
<http://www.dgbas.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=15389&ctNode=3102> (In Mandarin)
- Dollery, B. E. and Wallis, J L. (2003) *The Political Economy of the Voluntary Sector*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Esping-Andersen, G.. (1990) *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Princeton:

Princeton University Press.

Esping-Andersen, G. (1998) *Social Foundations of Post-industrial Economics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Evers, A (1993) 'The Welfare Mix Approach: Understanding the Pluralism of Welfare Systems', in A. Evers and I. Svetlik (eds) *Balancing Pluralism: New Welfare Mixes in Care for the Elderly*, pp. 3-31. Hants: Avebury.

Executive Yuan (2006) *The Perspective of Economic Development in 2015—The Social Welfare Part*. (In Mandarin)
<http://www.ey.gov.tw/lp.asp?CtNode=419&CtUnit=294&BaseDSD=7>

Feng, Y. (2000a) 'The Definition, Function and Development of Nonprofit Organisations', in H. H. Hsiao (ed) *Nonprofit Sector: Organisation and Operation*, pp. 1-42. Taipei: Chu-Liu. (In Mandarin)

Feng, Y. (2000b) 'The Legal Requirements and Framework of Nonprofit Organisations', in H. H. Hsiao (ed) *Nonprofit Sector: Organisation and Operation*, pp. 75-108. Taipei: Chu-Liu. (In Mandarin)

Ferris, J. M. (1998) 'The Role of the Nonprofit Sector in a Self-Governing Society: A View from the United States', *Voluntas*, vol.9, no. 2, pp. 137-151.

Flick, U. (2006) *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*. London: Sage.

Fukuyama, F. (2001) 'Social Capital, Civil Society and Development', *Third World Quarterly*, vol.22, no. 1, pp. 7-20.

Gergen, K. J. and Gergen, M. M. (1995) 'Toward Reflexive Methodologies', in F. Steier (ed) *Research and Reflexivity*, pp. 76-95. London: Sage.

Gidron, B., Kramer, R. M. and Salamon, L. M. (1992) 'Government and the Third Sector in Comparative Perspective: Allies or Adversaries?', in B. Gidron, R. M. Kramer and L. M. Salamon (eds) *Government and The Third Sector: Emerging Relationships in Welfare States*, pp. 1-30. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Gomm, R. (2004) *Social Research Methodology*. Hampshire: Palgrave.

- Goodman, R. & Peng, I. (1996) 'The East Asian Welfare States: Peripatetic Learning, Adaptive Change, and Nation-Building', in G. Esping-Andersen (ed) *Welfare States in Transition*, pp. 192-224. London: Sage.
- Gough, I (1979) *The Political Economy of the Welfare State*. London: Macmillan.
- Government Information Office (2006) *Taiwan Yearbook 2005*.
<http://www.gio.gov.tw/taiwan-website/5-gp/yearbook/index.html> (In Mandarin)
- Green, D. (1987) *The New Right: The Counter Revolution in Political, Economic and Social Thought*. London: Wheatsheaf.
- Hall, P. D. (1987) 'A Historical Overview of the Private Nonprofit Sector', in W. W. Power (ed) *The Nonprofit Sector: A Research Handbook*, pp. 3-26. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Hansmann, H. B. (1980) 'The Role of Nonprofit Enterprise', *Yale Law Journal*, no.89, pp. 835-898.
- Hansmann, H. (1987) 'Economic Theories of Nonprofit Organisation', in W. W. Powell (ed) *The Nonprofit Sector—A Research Handbook*, pp. 27-42. New Haven: Yale University press.
- Harris, M. (1996) 'Do We Need Governing Bodies?' in David Billis & Margaret Harris (eds) *Voluntary Agencies – Challenges of Organisation & Management*, pp. 149-165. London: Macmillan Press.
- Harris, M (1998) *Organizing God's Work*. London: Macmillan.
- Harris, M. (2001a) 'The Place of Self and Reflexivity in Third Sector Scholarship: An Exploration', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, vol. 30, no. 4. pp. 747-760.
- Harris, M. (2001b) 'Voluntary Organisations in a Changing Social Policy Environment', in M. Harris and C. Rochester (eds) *Voluntary Organisations and Social Policy in Britain*, pp. 1-20. Hampshire: Palgrave

- Harrow, J. (2001) 'Capacity Building as a Public Management Goal: Myth, Magic or the Main Chance?', *Public Management Review*, vol. 3, issue. 2, pp. 209-230.
- Hatch, M. J. (1997) *Organisation Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hegel, G. W. F. (1967) *Philosophy of Right*. Translated with Notes by T.M. Knox. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Henriksen, L. S. and Bundesen, P. (2004) 'The Moving Frontier in Denmark: Voluntary-State Relationships since 1850', *Journal of Social Policy*, vol. 33, no. 4, pp. 605-625.
- Himalaya Foundation (2001) *The Data of Taiwanese Foundations*. Taipei: Himalaya Foundation. (In Mandarin)
- Hirst, P. (1994) *Associative Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Holliday, I (2000) 'Productivist Welfare Capitalism: Social Policy in East Asia', *Political Studies*, vol. 48, pp 706-723.
- Hsiao, H. H. (1990) 'Emerging Social Movements and the Rise of a Demanding Civil Society in Taiwan', *The Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs*, no. 24, pp. 163-180.
- Hsiao, H. H. (2000) 'The Contemporary Phenomena and Features of Taiwanese Nonprofit Organisations', in H. H. Hsiao (ed) *Nonprofit Sector: Organisation and Operation*, pp. 109-128. Taipei: Chu-Liu. (In Mandarin)
- Hsiao, H. H. (2004) 'Non-Governmental Organisations, Democratic Transformation and Democratic Governance in Taiwan', *Taiwan Democracy Quarterly*, vol.1, no.1, pp. 65-84. (In Mandarin)
- Hsiao, H. H. and Sun, G. H (2000) 'The development of Social welfare Movement in Taiwan since 1980', in H. H. Hsiao and K. M. Lin (eds) *Taiwanese Social Welfare Movements*, pp. 33-70. Taipei: Chu-Liu. (In Mandarin)
- Hsieh, L. Y. (2000) *The Development of Taiwanese Voluntary Organisations in Historical Perspective – Democracy and Partnership?* PhD Thesis. UK: Bristol

University.

Jepperson, R. L. (1991) 'Institutions, Institutional Effects, and Institutionalism', in W.W Powell and P. J. DiMaggio (eds) *The New Institutionalism in Organisational Analysis*, pp. 143-163. Chicago: The University of Chicago.

Jones, C. (1990) 'Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan: Oilonomic Welfare States', *Government and Opposition*, vol.25, no.4, pp. 446-462.

Jones, C. (1993) 'The Pacific Challenge: Confucian Welfare State', in C. Jones (ed) *New Perspectives on the Welfare State in Europe*, pp. 198-217. London: Routledge.

Johnson, N. (1987) *The Welfare State in Transition: The Theory and Practice of Welfare Pluralism*. Sussex: Wheatsheaf Books.

Johnson, R. B. and Onwuegbuzie, A. J. (2004) 'Mixed Methods Research: A Research Whose Time Has Come', *Education Researcher*, vol. 33, no. 7, pp. 14-26.

Kamerman, S. (1983) 'The new mixed economy of welfare: public and private', *Social work* vol. 28, pp. 5-11.

Kao, Y. H. and Kuan, Y. Y. (2001) *Strengthening Philanthropy in the Asia Pacific: An Agenda for Action*. Country Paper: Taiwan.
<http://www.npo.org.tw/NPODev/Country%20Report%20for%20APPC.pdf> (In Mandarin)

Kendall, J. and Knapp, M. (1996) *The Voluntary Sector in the UK*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Kidd, A. (2002) 'Civil Society or the State? Recent Approaches to the History of Voluntary Welfare', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, vol. 15, no, 3, pp. 328-342.

Kramer, R. M. (1981) *Voluntary Agencies in the Welfare State*, California: University of California.

Ku, C. H. (1999) 'The Structural Transformation of Civic Association and the Development of NPOs in Taiwan', *A Radical Quarterly in Social Studies*, no.36,

- pp. 123-145. Taiwan. (In Mandarin)
- Ku, Y. W. (1997) *Welfare Capitalism in Taiwan*. Hampshire: Macmillan.
- Ku, Y. W. (2003) 'Social Security', in I. Holliday and P. Wilding (eds) *Welfare Capitalism in East Asia*, pp. 128-160. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ku, Y. W. (2004) 'Is There a Way Out? Global Competition and Social Reform in Taiwan', *Social Policy & Society*, vol3, no. 3, pp.311-320.
- Kuan, Y. Y. (1995) 'The NPO-Government Relations in Taiwan: A Case Study of the Taiwan Christian Children's Fund, 1964-1977', *The Chinese Journal of Public Policy Studies*, no 16, pp. 147-226.
- Kuan, Y. Y. (2000) 'The Development of Nonprofit Organisations in Taiwan: An Analysis Focusing on the Law and Regulations Guiding the Operation of Foundations', *The Chinese Public Administration Review*, vol. 10, no. 1, pp. 75-110. Taipei. (In Mandarin)
- Kuan, Y. Y. and Lin, C. Y. (2000) 'The Social Relief Function of Taiwanese Charitable Organisations', *Asian Study*. (In Mandarin)
- Kuti, É. (1996) *The Nonprofit Sector in Hungary*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Lau, D. C. (2004) *Mencius*. London: Penguin Books.
- Leat, D (1995) 'Funding Matter', in J.D. Smith et al (eds) *An Introduction to the Voluntary Sector*, pp. 157-189. London: Routledge.
- Legge, J (1971) *Confucius: Confucian Analects, The Great Learning and The Doctrine of the Mean*. New York: Dover Publications.
- Leu, C. H. (2001) 'The Inter-Relationship between Government and Nonprofit Organisations: The Case of the 921 Earthquake Reliefs', *Taiwan Journal of Social Welfare*, vo.11, no. 2, pp. 39-77. (In Mandarin)
- Leu, C. H. and Kuo, C Y. (2003) 'The Relationship between the Local Government

- and the Nonprofit Organisations: The Cases of Chia-Yi Area', *Journal of Social Science of National Open University Taiwan*, vol. 11, pp. 143-188. (In Mandarin)
- Leung, A. K. C. (1997) *Giving Mercy and Education* (Shi Shan Yu Jiao Hua). Taipei: Lin-King Books. (In Mandarin)
- Lin, W. I. (1987) 'The Management of the Contract for Purchasing Social Service', *Journal of Community Development*, vol. 39, pp. 62-69. (In Mandarin)
- Lin, W. I. (1990) 'The Chinese Gentry and Social Philanthropy', *Journal of Sociology*, no. 20, pp. 143-186. (In Mandarin)
- Lin, W. I. (1991) 'The Development and Research of Taiwanese Social Welfare', *Journal of Chinese Sociology*, no 15, pp.74-119. (In Mandarin)
- Lin, W. I. (1994) 'Public Opinion and Social Welfare', in C. C. Yi (ed) *Public Opinion of Taiwanese Society: An Sociological Analysis*. Book Serious (33), pp. 245-283. Taipei: Sun Yat-Sen Institute for Social Science and Philosophy. (In Mandarin)
- Lin, W. I. (1999) 'The Privatization of Social Welfare: Stop, Look and Hear', in W. I. Lin et al., *Social Welfare in Taiwan*, pp. 245-274. Taipei: Wu-Nan. (In Mandarin).
- Lin, W. I. (2000) 'Social Protest, Political Resource power and Social Policy Development: Taiwanese Experiences Since 1980s', in M. H. H. Hsiao and K. M. Lin (eds) *Taiwanese Social Welfare Movements*, pp. 71-134. Taipei: Chu-Liu. (In Mandarin)
- Lin, W. I. (2005) 'The Review and Prospect of Taiwanese Welfare Development since the 1990s'. *Journal of Community Development*, no. 109, pp. 12-36. (In Mandarin)
- Liu, S. R. (1984) *Social Policy and Social Legislations*. Taipei: Wu-Nan. (In Mandarin).
- Liu, S. C. (2000) 'The Impacts of Government Contract on Voluntary Organisations', in H. H. Hsiao and K. M. Lin (eds) *Taiwanese Social Welfare Movements*, pp. 503-538. Taipei: Chu-Liu. (In Mandarin)

- Lundström, T and Svedberg, L. (2003) 'The Voluntary Sector in a Social Democratic Welfare State—The Case of Sweden'. *Journal of Social Policy*, vol. 32, no. 2, pp. 217-238.
- Lyons, M. (1996) 'Nonprofit Sector and Civil Society: Are They Competing Paradigms?' *CACOM Working Paper*, no. 35. Sydney: The University of Technology.
- Ma, Q. (2002) 'The Governance of NGOs in China Since 1978: How Much Autonomy', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, vol. 31, no. 3, pp. 305-328.
- Manaster, G. J. and Havighurst, R. J. (1972) *Cross-National Research*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Manning, N. (2003) 'Social Needs, Social Problems and Social Welfare', in P. Alcock; A. Erskine and M. May (eds) *The Student's Companion to Social Policy*, pp. 35-41. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Marshall, T. F. (1996) 'Can We Define the Voluntary Sector?', in D. Billis and M. Harris (eds) *Voluntary Agencies: Challenges of Organisation and Management*, pp. 45-60. London: Macmillan.
- McKinley, W. and Mone, M. A. (2003) 'Micro and Macro Perspectives in Organization Theory: A Tale of Incommensurability', in H. Tsoukas and C. Knudsen (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Organization Theory*, pp. 345-372. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mellor, H. W. (1985) *The Role of Voluntary Organisations in Social Welfare*. Kent: Croom Helm.
- Meyer, J. W. and Rowan, B. (1991) 'Institutionalised Organisations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony', in W. W. Powell and P. J. DiMaggio (eds) *The New Institutionalism in Organisational Analysis*, pp. 41-62. Chicago: The University of Chicago.
- Morse, J. M. (2003) 'Principles of Mixed Methods and Multimethod Research Design', in A. Tashakkori and C. Teddlie (eds) *Handbook of Mixed Method in*

- Social and Behavior Research*, pp. 189-208. London: Sage.
- Najam, A. (1999) 'Citizen Organisations as Policy Entrepreneurs', in D. Lewis (ed) *International Perspective on Voluntary Action*, pp. 142-181. London: Earthscan.
- Najam, A. (2000) 'The Four-C's of Third Sector-Government Relations', *Nonprofit Management & Leadership*, vol. 10, no. 4, pp. 375-396.
- Neuman, W. L. (2000) *Social Research Methods*. MA: Allyn & Bacon.
- O'Connor, J. (1973) *The Fiscal Crisis of the State*. New York: St Martin's Press.
- O'Connell, B. (2000) 'Civil Society: Definition and Descriptions', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, vol.29, no. 3, pp. 472-478.
- Offe, C. (2000) 'Some Contradictions of the Modern Welfare State', in Christopher Pierson and Francis G. Castles (eds.) *The Welfare State Reader*, pp. 67-76. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Pan, S. M. (2004) 'Immigrant Brides, Citizenship and Domestic Violence', *Social Policy and Social Work*, vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 85-131 (In Mandarin)
- Pagano, R. R. (2004) *Understanding Statistics in the Behavioural Science*. CA: Wadsworth/Thomson.
- Patton, M. Q. (2002) *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*. London: Sage.
- Pels, D. (2000) 'Reflexivity—One Step Up', *Theory, Culture and Society*, vol.17, no. 3, pp. 1-25.
- Procter, P (ed) (1996) *Cambridge International Dictionary of English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Punch, K. F (1998) *Introduction to Social Research*. London: Sage.
- Punch, K. F. (2005) *Introduction to Social Research—Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches*. London: Sage.

- Putnam, R. (1993) *Making Democracy Work*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Putnam, R. (2000) *Bowling Alone*. New York: Touchstone.
- Ragin, C.C. (1998) 'Comments on "Social Origins of Civil Society"', *Voluntas*, vol.9 no. 3, pp. 261-270.
- Reid, E. J. (1999) 'Nonprofit Advocacy and Political Participation', in E.T Boris and C. E. Steuerle (eds) *Nonprofits And Government: Collaboration and Conflict*, pp. 291-328. Washington, D. C.: The Urban Institute Press.
- Ritchie, J. (2004) 'The Applications of Qualitative Methods to Social Research', in J. Ritchie and J. Lewis (eds) *Qualitative Research Practice*, pp. 24-46. London: Sage.
- Ritchie, J. and Lewis, J. (2004) *Qualitative Research Practice*. London: Sage.
- Ritchie, J.; Spencer, L. and O'Connor, W. (2004) 'Carrying out Qualitative Analysis', in J Ritchie and J Lewis (eds) *Qualitative Research Practice*, 219-262. London: Sage.
- Rochester, C. (2003) 'The Role of Boards in Small Voluntary Organisations', in C. Cornforth (ed), *The Governance of Public and Non-profit Organisations*, pp. 115-130. London: Routledge.
- Salamon, L. M. (1987). 'Partners in Public Service: The Scope and Theory of Government-Nonprofit Relations', in W.W. Powell (ed), *The Nonprofit Sector—A Research Handbook*, pp. 99-117. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Salamon, L. M. (1994) 'The Rise of the Nonprofit Sector', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 74, no. 3, pp.109-122.
- Salamon, L. M. (1995) *Partners in Public Service*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Salamon, L. M. (1999) 'Government-Nonprofit Relations in International Perspective', in E. T Boris and C. E Steuerle (eds), *Nonprofits and Government: Collaboration and Conflict*, pp. 329-367. Washington D.C: The Urban Institute

Press.

Salamon, L. M. and Anheier, H. K. (1997) *Defining the Nonprofit Sector: A Cross-National Analysis*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Salamon, L. M. and Anheier, H. K. (1998) 'Social Origins of Civil Society: Explaining the Nonprofit Sector Cross-Nationally', *Voluntas*, vol. 9, no. 3, pp. 213-248.

Salamon, L. M.; Anheier, H. K. and Associates (1999) 'Civil Society in Comparative Perspective', in L. M. Salamon and Associates, *Global Civil Society: Dimensions of the Nonprofit Sector*, pp. 3-39. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University.

Sarantakos, S. (1998) *Social Research*. London: Palgrave.

Saunders, P. (1996) 'Social Policy in East Asia and the Pacific Area in the Twenty-First Century: Challenges and Responses'. *SPRC discussion paper*, No. 74. Australia: University of New South Wales.

Schwandt, T. A. (2001) *Dictionary of Qualitative Inquiry*. London: Sage.

Scott, W. R. (2001) *Institutions and Organisations*. London: Sage.

Scott, W. R. (2003) *Organisations: Rational, Natural and Open Systems*. New Jersey: Pearson Education.

Seibel, W. (1992). 'Government-Nonprofit Relationships in a Comparative Perspective: The Cases of France and Germany', in K. D. McCarthy, V. A. Hodgkinson, R. D. Sumariwalla, and Associates, *The Nonprofit Sector in the Global Community: Voices from Many Nations*, pp. 205-229. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Sheu, Y. H. (2007) 'Full Responsibility with Partial Citizenship: Immigrant Wives in Taiwan', *Social Policy and Administration*, vol. 41, no. 2, pp. 178-196

Silverman, D (2000) *Doing Qualitative Research*. London: Sage.

Smith, B.L.R. (1975) *The new political economy: The public use of the private sector*. New York: Wiley.

- Smith, J. F. H. (1987) 'Benevolent societies: The reshaping of charity during the late Ming and early Ch'ing', *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 46, issue 2, pp. 309-337.
- Smith, S.R. and Lipsky, M. (1993) *Nonprofit for Hire: The Welfare State in the Age of Contracting*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Snape, D. and Spencer, L. (2003) 'The Foundation of Qualitative Research', in R. Jane and J. Lewis (eds) *Qualitative Research Practice*, pp. 1-23. London: Sage.
- Sootill, W. E. (1995) *The Analects*, New York: Dover Publication.
- Sperber, A. D.; Devellis, R. F. and Boehlecke, B. (1994) 'Cross-Cultural Translation: Methodology and Validation', *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, vol. 25, no. 4, pp. 501-524.
- Steinberg, R. and Young, D. (1998) 'A Comment on Salamon and Anheier's "Social Origins of Civil Society"', *Voluntas*, vol. 9, no. 3, pp. 249-260.
- Stroh, M. (2000) 'Qualitative Interviewing', in D. Burton (ed) *Research Training for Social Scientists*, pp. 196-214. London: Sage.
- Sun, C. C. (1989) 'Foundations of Welfare: Resources', *Journal of Law and Commerce*, vol. 23, pp. 257-274. Taipei: National Chung Hsing University (In Mandarin)
- Sun, Y. S. (1990) *The Three Principles of the People* (San Min Chu I). Taipei: Government of Information Office.
- Taiwan Provincial Documentary Committee (1972) *Taiwan Sheng Tung Chih* (The Provincial Gazette of Taiwan). Taiwan: Tai-chung. (In Mandarin).
- Tang, K. L. (2000) *Social Welfare Development in East Asia*. Hampshire: Palgrave.
- Tashakkori, A, and Teddlie, C. (1998) *Mixed Methodology: Combining Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. London: Sage.
- Taylor, M. (1992) 'The Changing Role of the Nonprofit Sector in Britain: Moving

- Toward the Market', in B. Gidron et al. (eds) *Government and The Third Sector*, pp. 147-175. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Taylor, M. (1999) 'Influencing Policy: A UK Voluntary Sector Perspective', in D. Lewis (ed) *International Perspectives on Voluntary Action*, pp. 182-201. London: Earthscan Publications.
- Teddlie, Charles & Tashakkori, Abbas (2003) 'Major Issues and Controversies in the Use of Mixed Methods in the Social and Behaviour Sciences', in the A. Tashakkori & C. Teddlie (eds) *Handbook of Mixed Methods –In Social and Behaviour Research*, pp. 3-49. London: Sage.
- The Legislative Yuan, ROC. (2006) *The History of the Legislative Yuan*. http://www.ly.gov.tw/ly/01_introduce/0101_int/0101_int_02.jsp?ItemNO=01010200 (In Mandarin)
- Tien, H. M. (1992) 'Taiwan's Evolution toward Democracy: A Historical Perspective', in D. F. Simon and M. Y. M. Kau (eds) *Taiwan: Beyond the Economic Miracle*, pp. 3-23. New York: M. E. Sharpe.
- Ting, J. C. (1998) 'Merit-Accumulation Behaviour in Cultural Context: An Example from Participants in Taiwan's Buddhist Tzu-Chi Association, with Implications for Cross-Cultural Studies on Helping Behaviour', *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology Academia Sinica*, no.85, pp. 113-177. (In Mandarin)
- Tocquevill, A. D. (1946) *Democracy in America*. Translated by H. Reeve. London: Oxford University Press.
- Tsai, W. H. (2002) 'Modernization and the Development of Social Welfare Programmes in Taiwan', in P. C. Y. Chow (ed) *Taiwan's Modernization in Global Perspective*, pp. 361-378. CT: Praeger Publishers.
- Tsai, M. Y. (2005) 'The Development Process of Taiwanese Social Welfare Legislations', *Journal of Community Development*, vol. 109, pp. 66-83. (In Mandarin)
- Vincent, J and Harrow, J. (2005) 'Comparing Thistles and Roses: The Application of Governmental? Voluntary Sector Relations Theory to Scotland and England',

- Voluntas*, vol. 16, no. 4, pp. 375-396.
- Wagner, A. (2000) 'Reframing "Social Origins" Theory: The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, vol. 29, no. 4, pp. 541-553.
- Walzer, M. (2003) 'A Better Vision: The Idea of Civil Society', in V. A. Hodgkinson and M.W. Foley (eds) *The Civil Society Reader*, pp. 306-321. Lebanon: Tufts University Press.
- Wang, C. M. (1998) 'Limits of Nationalised Social Welfare in Taiwan: A Discussion on Political Party Policy and Welfare Legislations', *Journal of Thought and Words*, vol. 36, no. 2, pp. 1-18. (In Mandarin)
- Wang, T. Y. (2000) 'Who speaks for Elderly People?', in M. H. H. Hsiao and K. M. Lin (eds) *Taiwanese Social Welfare Movements*, pp. 257-308. Taipei: Chu-Liu. (In Mandarin)
- Wang, Y. C. (2003) 'The Political Economy of Welfare Development in Taiwan's Local Authorities, 1994-1997', *Journal of Taiwanese Social Welfare*, no. 4, pp. 107-149. (In Mandarin)
- Ware, A. (1989) *Between Profit and State: Intermediate Organisations in Britain and United States*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Weisbrod, B. (1977) *The Voluntary Nonprofit Sector*. Mass: Lexington.
- Wikipedia (2006) *Taiwan*. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Taiwan>
- Wilkinson, S. (1988) 'The Role of Reflexivity in Feminist Psychology', *Women's Studies International Form*, vol. 11, no. 5, pp. 493-502.
- Wolch, J. R. (1990) *The Shadow State: Government and Voluntary Sector in Transition*. New York: The Foundation Center.
- Wolfendon, Lord (1978) *The future of voluntary organisations, Report of the Wolfenden Committee*. London: Croom Helm.

- Wong, L. and Jun, T. (2006) 'Non-State Care Homes for Older People as Third Sector Organisations in China's Traditional Welfare Economy', *Journal of Social Policy*, vol. 35, no. 2, pp. 229-246.
- Yamamoto, T. (ed) (1998) *The Nonprofit Sector in Japan*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Young, D. R. (2000) 'Alternative Models of Government-Nonprofit Sector Relations: Theoretical and International Perspectives', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, vol. 29, no. 1, pp. 149-172.

Glossary

Professionalism

This term is defined as 'the combination of all the qualities that are connected with trained and skilled people' in the Cambridge International Dictionary of English (Procter, 1996). In this study, professionalism means TSOs employ trained or skilled people with social work knowledge and provide services by their professional judgment.

Social service

This term refers to the provision of social care (this is about the provision of individual support) and social work (this is about the professional activities undertaken by social workers) (Alcock, 2003: 97). In Taiwan, Third sector organisations (TSOs) are increasingly involved in the provision of social services.

Social Welfare

In this study the term 'social welfare' refers to 'the various social arrangements that exist to meet the needs of individuals and groups in society'. Social welfare used to refer to government welfare. Nowadays social arrangements can be provided by family and friends, third sector organisations, market and state (Manning, 2003:35).

Welfare Regime

This terminology is from Esping-Andersen's (1990) book 'The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism'. Welfare regime denotes that welfare states could be clustered by the different arrangements between sectors (including state, market, third sector, and informal sector) in the provision of social welfare. In this study, Taiwanese social welfare regime refers to the Taiwanese social welfare provision under the influence of traditional social welfare values and social welfare policies and the intervention of different sectors.

Upper-class People

Due to the lack of an equivalent, the term 'upper-class people' is used to refer to the Chinese phrase '仕紳' which normally means people with higher social status, respect and education.

Appendices

Appendix 1

The Growth of Membership Associations in Taiwan from 1977 to 2005

Year	Total	Political Association	Occupational Association	Social Association
1977	7,476	-	4,036 (54.0%)	3,440 (46.0%)
1978	7,787	-	4,157 (53.4%)	3,630 (46.6%)
1979	8,081	-	4,289 (53.1%)	3,792 (46.9%)
1980	8,326	-	4,366 (52.4%)	3,960 (47.6%)
1981	8,739	-	4,522 (51.7%)	4,217 (48.3%)
1982	9,060	-	4,577 (50.5%)	4,483 (49.5%)
1983	9,801	-	4,868 (49.7%)	4,933 (50.3%)
1984	10,096	-	4,902 (48.6%)	5,194 (51.4%)
1985	10,482	-	5,086 (48.5%)	5,396 (51.5%)
1986	10,625	-	5,260 (49.5%)	5,365 (50.5%)
1987	11,329	-	5,535 (48.9%)	5,794 (51.1%)
1988	12,210	-	6,110 (50.0%)	6,100 (50.0%)
1989	13,191	45 (0.4%)	6,427 (48.7%)	6,719 (50.9%)
1990	13,836	70 (0.5%)	6,653 (48.1%)	7,113 (51.4%)
1991	14,657	84 (0.6%)	6,800 (46.4%)	7,773 (53.0%)
1992	15,114	96 (0.7%)	6,828 (45.1%)	8,190 (54.2%)
1993	16,103	100 (0.7%)	6,914 (42.9%)	9,089 (56.4%)
1994	17,071	103 (0.7%)	6,973 (40.8%)	9,995 (58.5%)
1995	18,071	106 (0.6%)	7,000 (38.7%)	10,965 (60.7%)
1996	19,092	111 (0.6%)	7,193 (37.7%)	11,788 (61.7%)
1997	20,473	115 (0.6%)	7,533 (36.8%)	12,825 (62.6%)
1998	21,676	119 (0.5%)	7,774 (35.9%)	13,783 (63.6%)
1999	23,682	122 (0.6%)	8,251 (34.8%)	15,309 (64.6%)
2000	25,517	126 (0.6%)	8,512 (33.3%)	16,879 (66.1%)
2001	27,582	131 (0.5%)	8,756 (31.7%)	18,695 (67.8%)
2002	29,631	135 (0.5%)	9,040 (30.5%)	20,454 (69.0%)
2003	31,848	138 (0.4%)	9,240 (29.0%)	22,470 (70.6%)
2004	33,935	147 (0.4%)	9,485 (28.0%)	24,303 (71.6%)
2005	35,888	156 (0.4%)	9,593 (26.8%)	26,139 (72.8%)

Source from: Department of Statistics, Ministry of Interior (2005) Statistical Yearbook of Interior 2005. [http:// www.moi.gov.tw/stat/](http://www.moi.gov.tw/stat/)

Appendix 2

The Growth of Social Associations in Taiwan (1)

Year	Total	Register at the Central Government	Register at the Local Government	Academic & Cultural Association	Medical & Health Association	Religious Association	Sports Association	Social Service and Charitable	International Association	Economic Affairs Association	Others
1977	3,440	486	2,954	458	43	68	42	2,116	62	-	651
1978	3,630	512	3,118	492	46	69	45	2,249	61	-	668
1979	3,792	527	3,265	527	49	69	47	2,322	61	-	717
1980	3,960	562	3,398	541	48	64	50	2,471	51	-	735
1981	4,217	567	3,650	562	51	75	51	2,653	68	-	757
1982	4,483	596	3,887	640	57	73	53	2,892	69	-	699
1983	4,933	650	4,283	712	55	76	51	3,192	87	-	760
1984	5,194	689	4,505	760	60	75	54	3,397	94	-	754
1985	5,396	711	4,685	791	-	78	-	3,810	-	-	717
1986	5,365	742	4,623	808	-	78	-	3,948	-	-	531
1987	5,794	734	5,060	952	-	80	-	4,016	-	-	746
1988	6,100	822	5,278	1,054	-	83	-	3,908	-	-	1,055
1989	6,719	952	5,767	800	183	96	693	2,229	865	674	1,179
1990	7,113	1,007	6,106	899	194	124	740	1,809	1,100	681	1,566

The Growth of Social Associations in Taiwan (2)

Year	Total	Register at the Central Government	Register at the Local Government	Academic & Cultural Association	Medical & Health Association	Religious Association	Sports Association	Social Service and Charitable	International Association	Economic Affairs Association	Others
1991	7,773	1,388	6,385	1,008	300	167	771	1,992	1,171	790	1,574
1992	8,190	1,536	6,654	1,118	235	194	843	2,223	1,254	859	1,464
1993	9,089	1,740	7,349	1,211	253	222	908	2,581	1,335	937	1,642
1994	9,995	2,011	7,984	1,335	294	261	1,010	2,902	1,407	1,055	1,731
1995	10,965	2,275	8,690	1,452	328	315	1,119	3,300	1,520	1,155	1,776
1996	11,788	2,390	9,398	1,564	365	318	1,265	3,481	1,621	1,213	1,961
1997	12,825	2,668	10,157	1,674	393	410	1,369	3,867	1,749	1,310	2,053
1998	13,783	2,897	10,886	1,844	430	458	1,469	4,195	1,850	1,411	2,127
1999	15,309	3,279	12,030	2,097	464	523	1,702	4,727	1,939	1,570	2,287
2000	16,879	3,964	12,915	2,476	520	626	1,911	5,309	2,009	1,750	2,278
2001	18,695	4,407	14,288	2,801	576	725	2,098	5,974	2,055	1,943	2,523
2002	20,456	4,930	15,526	3,169	627	825	2,329	6,576	2,122	2,157	2,651
2003	22,470	5,467	17,003	3,612	704	947	2,558	7,300	2,158	2,406	2,785
2004	24,304	5,997	18,307	4,021	769	1,062	2,779	7,846	2,218	2,675	2,934
2005	26,139	6,569	19,570	4,429	868	1,185	3,002	8,244	2,263	2,940	3,208

Source from: Department of Statistics, Ministry of Interior (2005) Statistical Yearbook of Interior 2005. [http:// www.moi.gov.tw/stat/](http://www.moi.gov.tw/stat/)

Appendix 3 (1)

Economic Indictors

Year	Economic Growth Rate (%)	GNP Per Capital (U.S \$)	Unemployment Rate (%)	Labour Force Participation rate (%)	
				M	F
1966	8.9	237	3.02	81.5	32.6
1971	12.9	443	1.66	78.4	35.4
1976	13.9	1,132	1.78	77.1	37.6
1981	6.2	2,669	1.36	76.8	38.8
1984	10.6	3,167	2.45	76.1	43.3
1985	5.0	3,297	2.91	75.5	43.5
1986	11.6	3,993	2.66	75.2	45.5
1987	12.7	5,298	1.97	75.2	46.5
1988	7.8	6,379	1.69	74.8	45.6
1989	8.2	7,626	1.57	74.8	45.4
1990	5.4	8,111	1.67	74.0	44.5
1991	7.6	8,982	1.51	73.8	44.4
1992	7.5	10,502	1.51	73.8	44.8

Source from: Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, Executive

Yuan, R.O.C. (2005d) Social Indicators 2004.

<http://www.dgbas.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=12863&CtNode=3100>

Appendix 3 (2)

Year	Economic Growth Rate (%)	GNP Per Capital (U.S \$)	Unemployment Rate (%)	Labour Force Participation rate (%)	
				M	F
1993	7.0	10,964	1.45	72.7	44.9
1994	7.1	11,806	1.56	72.4	45.4
1995	6.4	12,686	1.79	72.0	45.3
1996	6.1	13,260	2.60	71.1	45.8
1997	6.4	13,556	2.72	71.1	45.6
1998	4.3	12,307	2.69	70.6	45.6
1999	5.3	13,177	2.92	69.9	46.0
2000	5.8	14,114	2.99	69.4	46.0
2001	-2.2	12,798	4.57	68.5	46.1
2002	3.9	12,884	5.17	68.2	46.6
2003	3.3	13,139	4.99	67.7	47.1
2004	5.7	14,032	4.44	67.8	47.7

Source from: Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, Executive Yuan, R.O.C. (2005d) Social Indicators 2004.

<http://www.dgbas.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=12863&CtNode=3100>.

Appendix 4 (1)

Social Welfare Acts

Year	Name of Social Welfare Scheme
1950	1. Taiwan Provincial Labour Insurance Programme; 2. Military Servicemen's Insurance Scheme enforced
1953	1. Military Servicemen's Insurance Act
1958	1. Labour Insurance Act, 2. Government Employee's Insurance Act
1965	1. Insurance for Retired Government Employee
1968	1. The Work Outline of Community Development; 2. Labour Insurance Act Revision
1973	1. Children Welfare Act; 2. Labour Insurance Act Revision
1974	1. Government Employee's Insurance Revision
1975	1. National Housing Act
1979	1. Labour Insurance Act Revision
1980	1. Welfare Act for Elderly People; 2. Welfare Act for Disabled people; 3. Social Assistance Act; 4. Insurance for Teaching and Administrative Staff in Private Schools
1982	1. Health Insurance Act for Government Employee's Dependents
1983	1. Vocational Training Act; 2. The Work Outline of Community Development Revision

Source from: Tsai, M. Y. (2005) The Development Process of Taiwanese Social Welfare Legislations. Journal of Community Development, Vol. 109, P. 66-83. (In Mandarin)

Appendix 4 (2)

Social Welfare Acts

Year	Name of Social Welfare Scheme
1984	1. Labour Standard Act
1985	1. Extending Health Insurance for some Farmers and Others
1989	1. Youth Welfare Act; 2. Health Insurance Act for Farmers
1990	1. Labour Standard Act Revision; 2. Welfare Act for Disabled people Revision; 3. Health Insurance for Low Income Households
1991	1. The Work Outline of Community Development Revision
1993	1. Children Welfare Act Revision; 2. Youth Welfare Act Revision; 3. Allowance for Low Income Disabled People
1994	1. National Health Insurance Act
1995	1. Children & Youth Sexual Transaction Prevention Act; 2. Allowance for Aged Farmers
1997	1. Social Workers Act, 2. Sexual Assault Prevention Act
1998	1. Domestic Violence Prevention Act
2001	1. Volunteers Act
2004	1. Children Welfare Act Revision; 2. Youth Welfare Act Revision;

Source from: Tsai, M. Y. (2005) The Development Process of Taiwanese Social Welfare Legislations. Journal of Community Development, Vol. 109, P. 66-83. (In Mandarin)

Appendix 5

Social Welfare Expenditure

Year	Total (100 Million N.T.\$)	% of Total Government Expenditure	% of GNP	Social Welfare Net Benefit /Capital (N.T.\$)	Year	Total (100 Million N.T.\$)	% of Total Government Expenditure	% of GNP	Social Welfare Net Benefit /Capital (N.T.\$)
1966	11	4.7	1.0	89	1992	1,350	8.6	2.5	6,522
1971	57	10.9	2.3	385	1993	1,458	8.3	2.4	6,974
1976	169	11.6	2.6	1,044	1994	1,585	8.7	2.4	7,518
1981	165	3.9	1.0	926	1995	2,318	12.1	3.3	10,898
1984	339	6.7	1.5	1,805	1996	2,900	15.7	3.7	13,525
1985	343	6.3	1.4	1,798	1997	2,950	15.7	3.5	13,635
1986	406	6.6	1.5	2,102	1998	2,828	14.2	3.2	12,950
1987	371	5.8	1.2	1,901	1999	2,805	13.7	3.0	12,742
1988	552	7.6	1.6	2,797	2000	5,318	16.9	3.6	23,972
1989	655	5.4	1.7	3,282	2001	3,970	17.5	4.1	17,769
1990	962	8.8	2.3	4,773	2002	3,237	15.1	3.2	14,409
1991	1,178	9.2	2.4	5,744	2003	3,451	15.6	3.4	15,297

Source from: Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, Executive

Yuan, R.O.C. (2005d) Social Indicators 2004.

<http://www.dgbas.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=12863&CtNode=3100>

Appendix 6 (1)

Demographic Indicators from 1966 to 2004

Year	Population	Person/ House	65years and over (%)	Life Expectancy (Year)	
				M	F
1966	13,049,605	5.6	2.7	65.2	69.7
1971	15,073,216	5.6	3.0	67.2	72.1
1976	16,579,737	5.2	3.6	68.7	73.6
1981	18,193,955	4.7	4.4	69.7	74.6
1984	19,069,194	4.5	4.9	70.5	75.5
1985	19,313,825	4.4	5.1	70.8	75.8
1986	19,509,082	4.3	5.3	71.0	75.9
1987	19,725,010	4.2	5.5	71.1	76.3
1988	19,954,397	4.1	5.7	71.0	76.2
1989	20,156,587	4.1	6.0	71.1	76.5
1990	20,401,305	4.0	6.2	71.3	76.8
1991	20,605,831	3.9	6.5	71.8	77.2
1992	20,802,622	3.9	6.8	71.8	77.2

Source from: Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, Executive

Yuan, R.O.C. (2005d) Social Indicators 2004.

<http://www.dgbas.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=12863&CtNode=3100>

Appendix 6 (2)

Demographic Indicators from 1966 to 2004

Year	Population	Person/ House	65years and over (%)	Life Expectancy (Year)	
				M	F
1993	20,995,416	3.8	7.1	71.6	77.5
1994	21,177,874	3.8	7.4	71.8	77.8
1995	21,357,431	3.7	7.6	71.9	77.7
1996	21,525,433	3.6	7.9	71.9	77.8
1997	21,742,815	3.5	8.1	71.9	77.8
1998	21,928,591	3.4	8.3	72.2	78.0
1999	22,092,387	3.4	8.4	72.5	78.1
2000	22,276,672	3.3	8.6	72.7	78.4
2001	22,405,568	3.3	8.8	72.9	78.8
2002	22,520,776	3.3	9.0	73.2	78.9
2003	22,604,550	3.2	9.2	73.4	79.3
2004	22,689,122	3.2	9.5	73.6	79.4

Source from: Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, Executive

Yuan, R.O.C. (2005d) Social Indicators 2004.

<http://www.dgbas.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=12863&CtNode=3100>

Appendix 7

Aston University Aston Business School

Ph. D Student Pan, Chung-Dao

‘Social Service’ and ‘Charitable’ Organisations in Taiwan

Dear Chairperson/Executive Secretary:

Let's find out about third sector organisations in Taiwan-- In the past two decades, third sector organisations in Taiwan have increased dramatically. These organisations have not only provided more and more social services but also played a significant role in the social service provision system. Under this trend, although governments increasingly cooperate with third sector organisations to provide social services, social service and charitable organisations have not been paid too much attention by governments. Furthermore, social science scholars also did not do too many comprehensive researches in the social service and charitable organisations. Therefore, the real potential of these organisations have not been fully discovered. Thus, we do sincerely wish you could participate in this research and complete this research with us. Through this research, we can map the features of social service and charitable organisations in Taiwan and clarify their role(s) and operation. Moreover, we can contribute further knowledge to third sector organisations in Taiwan.

The researcher's details -- The researcher is doing his PhD degree in the major of third sector organisations study in Aston University in the U.K. Before he went abroad to study, he got his Master degree in the Department of Sociology in the National Taiwan University and ever worked in the department of social affair in the Ministry of Interior, and United Ways of R.O.C. Because he has been interested in the issues of third sector organisations for a long time, he wants to bring the issues of third sector organisations into Taiwanese social policy debate through this research. He also wishes to find a new position of social service and charitable organisations in the social welfare context. Therefore, please help us to finish this research.

What is the questionnaire -- This questionnaire contains four parts as following: (1) the details of your organisation; (2) the relationship between government and your organisation; (3) the role of your organisation in the social welfare context; and (4) your details.

You are the success to this research -- In the interest of contributing to the knowledge base of third sector organisations in Taiwan and to the success of this study, would you kindly take no more than 30 minutes from your already busy schedule to complete the enclosed questionnaire? Your participation is critical to the success of the study. Since each unreturned questionnaire reduces the generalisation ability of the study, a very high response rate is necessary to accurately identify your view and lend value to the study.

Your response is definitely confidential -- Please be assured that your responses are completely anonymous, and the data will be used confidentially and only for this research. Also, there are no correct or incorrect responses in this survey. Please answer the following sets of questions from the perspective of your organisation, and try to return it in the enclosed stamped, self-addressed envelope before the 17th of October. After the researcher finishes the study, the findings will be also shared with all respondents.

Moreover, the researcher would like to invite the chairperson or executive secretary to fill in this questionnaire. If you really can not fill in it, please pass this questionnaire to the senior official in your organisation to complete this questionnaire. I do really wish to receive your response very soon.

If you have any question about filling in the questionnaire or any comment, please feel free to contact with the researcher by the following ways:



Aston University

Content has been removed for copyright reasons

Aston University, Aston Business School U.K

Part I The details of your organisation

The questions of this part mainly ask the details of your organisation, and try to map the features of social service and charitable organisations in Taiwan. Please give the details of your organisation. Many thanks!!

1. When was your organisation set up? (Year) _____
2. Which **level of government** does your organisation register with?
 - ☐ (1) central government
 - ☐ (2) provincial government
 - ☐ (3) county government
3. How big is the **membership** of your organisation?
 - (1) Individual membership _____
 - (2) Group membership _____
4. How many **members of the administrative board** in your organisation?

5. How many **members of the supervision board** in your organisation?

6. How many **full-time employees** in your organisation? _____
 Among them,
 How many administrative staff? _____
 How many professional social workers? _____
7. How many **part-time employees** are there in your organisation? _____
 Among them,
 How many administrative staff? _____

How many professional social workers? _____

8. How many **volunteers** in your organisation? _____

Among these volunteers, how many are your membership? _____

9. To what extent are your clients covered?

☐ (1) only your membership

☐ (2) only non-membership

☐ (3) both

10. Which **geographic area** does your organisation serve?

☐ (1) national area

☐ (2) provincial area

☐ (3) county area

☐ (4) town area

11. Who is your **main client**? (Tick one only)

☐ (1) children

☐ (2) youth

☐ (3) elderly people

☐ (4) disable people

☐ (5) women

☐ (6) labours

☐ (7) aborigines

☐ (8) general families

☐ (9) poor families

☐ (10) homeless people

☐ (11) patients

☐ (12) volunteers

☐ (13) emergency relief

☐ (14) professional social workers

☐ (15) drug or alcohol addicts

☐ (16) prisoners and their families

☐ (17) others (please give details) _____

12. According to **the annual audit report** of your organisation, what was the **revenue**

last year? _____ (New

Taiwanese dollars)

13. Breakdown of income sources of last year: (Please indicate quantity)

(1) From government:

From central government: _____ (dollars)

From local government: _____ (dollars)

Total: _____ (dollars)

(2) From private giving: _____ (dollars)

(3) From private earned income: _____ (dollars)

(4) From registration and membership fee: _____ (dollars)

(5) Others: _____ (dollars)

14. According to the annual audit report, what was the total expenditure of your organisation last year? _____ (dollars)

15. Breakdown of expenditure of last year: (Please indicate quantity)

For office operation (including bills, rents, expense on stationary etc):

_____ (dollars)

For staff salary: _____ (dollars)

For professional services: _____ (dollars)

Others: _____ (dollars)

Part II The relationship with government

In this section, we would like to know the relationship between government and your organisation, and what your organisation expects government to play its role(s).

1. Has your organisation ever received any grant or contract from governments?

☐ (1) yes (if yes, please go to question 1a)

☐ (2) no (if no, please skip **1a** and go to question **1b**)

1a. Is there any influence on your organisation from implementing programme funded by government? **(Please tick all that apply)**

☐ (1) promote the professionalism of your organisation

☐ (2) relieve the financial difficulty

☐ (3) expand your organisation

☐ (4) lose the independence of your organisation

☐ (5) make the administration process more complicated

☐ (6) no effect

☐ (7) others (please give the details) _____

1b. What kind of issues concern your organisation? **(Please tick all that apply)**

☐ (1) your organisation doesn't have close relationship with government

☐ (2) government did not announce the news openly

☐ (3) it is so complicated that your organisation did not want to apply

☐ (4) your organisation doesn't want to interact with government

☐ (5) your organisation doesn't have enough professionalism

☐ (6) other (please give the details) _____

2. What would you describe the role of government to your organisation? **(Please tick all that apply)**

☐ (1) regulate the operation of your organisations

☐ (2) give financial support to your organisations

- ☐ (3) help organisations to promote their professionalism
- ☐ (4) coordinates with your organisation and others to provide social services
- ☐ (5) governments don't need to play any role
- ☐ (6) others (please give details) _____
- _____

3. How would you say about the relationship between your organisation and government? Please indicate a point of level of the following scale. **(From left to right means different level from subordinate relationship to partner relationship)**

Subordinate relationship 1 2 3 4 5 Partner relationship

4. Under different social political environment, third sector organisations usually have different concerns. **If your organisation was established before 1987, please answer 4a, otherwise go to 4b.**

- 4a. Would you say the martial law restricted the establishment of your organisation then? Please indicate a point of level of the following scale.

Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Agree

- 4b. Would you say the abolition of the martial law encouraged the establishment of your organisation? Please indicate a point of level of the following scale.

Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Agree

Part III The role of your organisation

The questions of this section want to know what kind of the role your organisation is playing and what factors affect the role played by your organisation.

1. What are the goals of your organisation? (Please tick all that apply)

- ☐ (1) promote clients' welfare
- ☐ (2) promote traditional virtues
- ☐ (3) advocate to establish a comprehensive social welfare system
- ☐ (4) improve community spirit
- ☐ (5) assist governments to implement social policies and social services
- ☐ (6) others (please give details) _____

2. What would you say the role(s) of your organisation in the social welfare context? (Please tick all that apply)

- ☐ (1) initiate new social services
- ☐ (2) advocate social services or policy
- ☐ (3) protect social value and virtues
- ☐ (4) social service provider
- ☐ (5) others (please give the details) _____

3. What factor(s) you would perceive to affect the current role(s) of your organisation? (Please tick all that apply)

- ☐ (1) political factors
- ☐ (2) economic factors
- ☐ (3) traditional social values
- ☐ (4) cultural factors
- ☐ (5) legislations
- ☐ (6) social policies
- ☐ (7) others (please give the details) _____

4. Would you say the establishment of your organisation is a reflection of the democratisation of Taiwanese society?

Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Agree

5. Would you say the establishment of your organisation could promote the democracy for this society? Please indicate a point of level of the following scale.

Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Agree

6. Would you say the establishment of your organisation could promote your membership to participate your work? Please indicate a point of level of the following scale.

Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Agree

Part IV Your details

1. What is **your position** in the organisation?

- ☐ (1) the chairperson of the board
☐ (2) the executive secretary
☐ (3) others (please give details) _____

2. **How long** have you worked in this organisation? _____ years

3. What is **your education level**? (Please tick one only)

- ☐ (1) junior high school or under ☐ (2) senior high school
☐ (3) college ☐ (4) university ☐ (5) Master or above.

(If your answer is (3), (4), or (5), please continue to answer 3a)

3a. Is your major related to social services? (1) ☐ yes (2) ☐ no.

4. What is your age?

☐ (1) under 25

☐ (2) 26-30

☐ (3) 31-35

☐ (4) 36-40

☐ (5) 41-45

☐ (6) 46-50

☐ (7) 51-55

☐ (8) 56-60

☐ (9) 60-65

☐ (10) over 65

You have finished all the questions. Thank you for your time and your expertise!

Appendix 8 (1)

The Name List of Qualitative Interviewees

Code	Organisational Type	Respondent's Position	Register Level	Organisational Location
A1	Social Service	Executive Secretary	National	Taipei city
A2	Social Service	Executive Secretary	National	Taipei city
A3	Social Service	Executive Secretary	National	Taipei city
A4	Social Service	Executive Secretary	National	Taipei county
A5	Social Service	Executive Secretary	County	Taipei county
A6	Social Service	Previous Chairman	County	Hsin-Chu City
B1	Charitable	Secretary	County	Hsin-Chu City
A7	Social Service	Chairman	County	Tai-Chung City
A8	Social Service	Executive Secretary	County	Tai-Chung County
A9	Social Service	Executive Secretary	County	Tai-Chung County
A10	Social Service	Chairman	County	Tai-Chung County
B2	Charitable	Chairman	County	Chang-Hua County
A11	Social Service	Executive Secretary	Municipality	Kao-Hsiung City
B3	Charitable	Executive Secretary	Municipality	Kao-Hsiung City
B4	Charitable	Executive Secretary	Municipality	Kao-Hsiung City
B5	Charitable	Executive Secretary	Municipality	Kao-Hsiung City
B6	Charitable	Executive Secretary	Municipality	Kao-Hsiung City
B7	Charitable	Executive Secretary	County	Ping-Tung County
A12	Social Service	Chairman	County	Ping-Tung County
A13	Social Service	Executive Secretary	County	Ping-Tung County
A14	Social Service	Executive Secretary	County	I-Lan County
B8	Charitable	Secretary	County	I-Lan County
A15	Social Service	Secretary	County	Hua-Lian County
A16	Social Service	Executive Secretary	County	Hua-Lian County
A17	Social Service	Chairman	County	Hua-Lian County

Appendix 8 (2)

Backgrounds of Qualitative Interviewees

Code	Respondent's Position	Working in the organisation (year)	Education level
A1	Executive Secretary	12 years	Master degree
A2	Executive Secretary	13 years	College
A3	Executive Secretary	12 years	Open university
A4	Executive Secretary	9 years	College
A5	Executive Secretary	8 years	Primary school
A6	Previous Chairperson	18 years	College
B1	Secretary	14 years	College
A7	Chairperson	3 years	High school
A8	Executive Secretary	12 years	High school
A9	Executive Secretary	5 years	High School
A10	Chairperson	6 years	College
B2	Chairperson	5 years	High school
A11	Executive Secretary	14 years	University
B3	Executive Secretary	13 years	High school
B4	Executive Secretary	13 years	High school
B5	Executive Secretary	9 years	High school
B6	Executive Secretary	14 years	College
B7	Executive Secretary	8 years	University
A12	Chairperson	4 years	High school
A13	Executive Secretary	10 years	High school
A14	Executive Secretary	10 years	High school
B8	Secretary	11 years	High school
A15	Secretary	8 years	University
A16	Executive Secretary	6 years	University
A17	Chairperson	18 years	High school

Appendix 9

Aston University Aston Business School

Ph. D Student Pan, Chung-Dao

Semi-Structured Interview Schedule

First let me introduce myself. **I am doing Ph. D in Aston University Aston Business School in U.K.** Before I went abroad to study, I got my Master degree in the department of sociology in the National Taiwan University and ever worked in the Department of Social Affair of the Ministry of Interior, and United Ways of R.O.C. Because I have been interested in the issues of third sector organisations for a long time, I would like to bring the issues of third sector organisations into Taiwanese social policy debate through this research.

The aim of my research is to examine the role and operation of social service and charitable organisations within Taiwanese social welfare context. I would like to investigate whether or not the social, cultural and other environmental demands affect organisational operation and require social service and charitable organisations to play particular role(s) except technical and economic demands, and whether the activities of these organisations are repeated and given similar meanings in Taiwanese society. Furthermore, the relationship between your organisation and governments will be also examined in this interview.

The questions of the interview consist of three parts as following: (1) details of your organisations, (2) the environments of your organisation and their effects, and (3) relationships with governments. **All questions are open-ended, and there are no correct or incorrect views in this interview.** Please answer the following sets of questions from the perspective of your organisation and your own experience in this organisation.

This interview would not last for over one and half hours. The information you will be giving me in this interview will only be used for my thesis, and the interview will be done anonymous.

In order to exactly record your opinions, do you mind me taping this interview? It would be handier for me, because I won't have to write things down during the interview. I will erase the tape after I have transcribed it.

If you wish I can give you a copy of the interview-text and if you don't agree with anything in this version, I will not use it for the thesis. Thank you for your help indeed.

Interview by:

Date of interview:

Place of interview:

Time duration:

How was this respondent recruited?

Respondent Details:

Name:

Education level:

Which organisation do you work for?

What is your position in the organisation?

How long have you worked in the organisation?

Theme 1: Associating your organisation

1. Could you describe the establishment process of your organisation?

--who were the initial people to establish your organisation? Could you describe

their backgrounds? Who was the key person to establish your organisation?
--what did they establish your organisation for?
--what could be the causes to encourage the establishment of your organisation?
--do you think whether or not the existence of the martial law did affect the establishment of your organisation?

(Explore the establishment process of the organisation, the backgrounds of the initial people of the organisation, and the effect of martial law on the third sector organisations. The information could explain why over 50% organisations reflect martial law didn't affect the establishment, but still 20% organisations reflect martial law did affect)

2. What are the main goals of your organisation?

--do you think what goal is the priority to complete? Why?
--what are the advantages and disadvantages of your organisation to reach the goals

3. What are the main services of your organisation?

--why do you like to offer these services? Do you want to tackle some problems?
--how often do you offer the services?
--do you evaluate your services? how? why?

4. Were there other similar organisations which were established before your organisation?

--if there were other same function organisations which existed before your organisation, why didn't you join other similar organisations to provide the services?

(Explore the goals of the organisation, and examine why people like to establish a new organisation rather than to join other similar organisations)

5. The establishment of a social service and charitable organisation is mainly based on membership. How much membership does your organisation have?

--does the membership actively participate in the organisation affairs? who would like to do? how often they do and with what kind of commitment?
--if no, what are their contributions to your organisation?

(Explore membership's contributions to a third sector organisation in Taiwan and whether or not the organisation could be a vehicle for citizen participation in social services)

6. Do you think whether or not your organisation could strengthen social cohesion?

(for example, encourage active participation or volunteering, build up trust between people and so on)

-- how?

-- does your organisation have volunteers? do the numbers of volunteers incline or decline in the past three years? Why?

-- what are the volunteers' contributions to your organisation?

Theme 2: The environments and your organisations

1. Do you think what your organisation should look like and how it should behave and could be accepted by the society? (For example its structure, practice, operation, performance and so on)

--do you think why your organisation should behave like that way? (For instance, regulatory agencies demand, or laws, social and cultural expectations)

--do you think whether or not your organisation got the pressure to reach these expectations? (For example, pressure from governmental regulations or laws, cultural expectations, and coping other organisations)

(Explore how a voluntary organisation is adapting to its institutional context)

2. Do you think how your organisation might gain greater public support?

3. Could you tell me what the contributions of your organisation are to Taiwanese society?

--what should be the contributions of your organisation in the near future?

--how do you see barriers to your organisation making a bigger contribution to Taiwanese society?

(Explore the role(s) of a third sector organisation in Taiwan)

Theme 3: Relationship with governments

1. Does your organisation ever receive any grant or contract in the past three years?

--what are the advantages and disadvantages of your organisation to receive grant or contract from governments?

(Explore the advantages and disadvantages to get the contracted-out programmes from governments)

2. Does your organisation receive funding from governments?

--if yes, do you concern your organisation could lose the organisational independence? Why?

3. What is the interaction relationship between your organisation and governments?

--why does the relationship look like this way?

--what factors could affect the relationship?

--do you think whether or not the quality of the relationship with governments could affect the operation of your organisation? Why?

--If yes, how could it work?

(Explore the relationship between a voluntary organisation and governments and what factors affect the relationship)

※ Field notes:

Appendix 10

Index of the Themes and Concepts of Qualitative Data Analysis for Social Service and Charitable Organisations in Taiwan

1 Organisational details

- 1.1 The characteristic of the organisation
- 1.2 The factors to encourage the establishment of the organisation
- 1.3 The key person(s) to establish the organisation/ people's background
- 1.4 How the martial law affected the establishment of the organisation
- 1.5 The goals of the organisation
- 1.6 The service(s) of the organisation
- 1.7 The evaluation of the service(s)
- 1.8 Whether consider to join another organisation rather than to establish a new one
- 1.9 How to run the organisation
- 1.10 The participation of membership
- 1.11 The contribution(s) of membership
- 1.12 How to strengthen the social cohesion

2 The relationship with Government

- 2.1 How can get grant or contract from government
- 2.2 What is the relationship with government
- 2.3 The factor(s) to affect building relationship
- 2.4 What factor(s) could affect getting funding from government
- 2.5 Whether or not concern losing the independence by receiving funding from government
- 2.6 The role of the organisation

3 Organisational environments

- 3.1 What is/are the institutional factor(s) to affect organisational behaviour(s)
- 3.2 The expectation(s) of the society
- 3.3 How to gain great social support
- 3.4 What is/are the contribution(s) of the organisation